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Inscriptions of the Synagogue of Dura-Europos

New finds create not only new evaluations, but also new problems. Sometimes the problems are prevailing, and then it may happen that a whole field of history, which hitherto seemed clear enough, must be viewed from a different angle. In such a case, a flood of new hypotheses, outlooks and theories usually sets in, and not a solution.

The excavation of the synagogue of Dura-Europos produced this effect. It became the object of manifold discussions even before a complete publication saw the light. The presence of frescoes, their position in the history of art and the interpretation of their contents, the inscriptions, all of them create problems that still await solution.

In the following pages our discussion shall begin there, where a solution may best be expected: with the inscriptions. Their complete publication, which has now appeared, allows to form a judgement in each instance.

I.

Among the frescoes of the synagogue of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates, two occupy a special position, inasmuch as Greek titles are found on them. These, however, show a linguistic form which is uncommon and must, therefore, be studied.

In the first place mention shall be made of the reception of the queen of Sheba by Solomon (WA 2) ⁽¹⁾. On the fourth step of Solomon's throne we find:

ΣΛΗΜΩΝ,

while beneath the chair to the left of the throne we read: ⁽²⁾

ΣΥΝΚΑΘΑΔΡΟ [...

Σλήμων in the place of Hebr. *šallūm* is without a parallel within the range of the Greek translation of the Old Testament. C. B. Welles ⁽³⁾ cites the interpretation of C. H. Kraeling, according to whom we find here the Syriac vocalisation. And indeed the coincidence with Syr. *š^{el}ēmūn* ⁽⁴⁾ is quite obvious. On the other side, Σλήμων is differentiated not only from Σολομών etc. of the Septuaginta, but also from *šlwmw* of Babylonian-Aramaic. ⁽⁵⁾ As to συνκάθαδρο [... Welles does not attempt to explain it on a Syriac background, but out of the internal developments of Greek. He maintains that, confronted with the usual συνκάθεδρος, it is « presumably due to assimilation ». Of course such an explanation is possible. But since we have found a Syriac onomastic form on the same fresco, we are justified in asking whether the abnormal vocalism of συνκάθαδρο [...] could also represent a phenomenon of the same or similar origin.

We must state *a priori* that such a Greek loan-word is not attested in Syriac. On the other side, we find Syr. *qatēdrā* = καθέδρα, which does not show the peculiar vocalism of the second syllable of συνκάθαδρο [... But since such forms exist as Syr. *sunṭaksis* = σύνταξις, *sunokos* = σύνοχος *sunallaksē* = συναλλάξει, **sunḳatēdros* = συνκάθεδρος could also be possible. It is true that we have the spelling *qatēdrā*, but side to side with it we find *qatā-rasis* = καθαίρεσις, *qunāyā* = κυνάεος, *qunāgā* = κυνηγός, *qomanṭarīsā* = κομηνταρήσιος; all of them show the same substitution of *a* for an *e*-vowel (ε, η, αι) as in συνκάθαδρο [... Thus it is possible that the phonetics of this title, even

if not attested within the Syriac literary language, may belong to a non-literary dialect, or generally speaking to a branch of East-Aramaic. Of course, parallels could be found in Syriac alone, thanks to the Syriac vowel-marking, but not in the non-vocalized texts of East-Aramaic origin.

The case of the third title, which is to be discussed here, is quite similar. It stands on the painting WB 2, to the right of Aaron's head, and reads:

ΑΡΩΝ.

This spelling is distinguished from Ἀαρών of the Septuaginta, Hebr. *Ah'rōn*, Syr. *ahrūn*, by the lack of the second α, which beyond doubt was a transcription of *h* ⁽⁶⁾. In Syriac and Babylonian-Aramaic *h* could be dropped ⁽⁷⁾, and therefore the same could happen with its representative in the Greek transliteration. Thus the spelling Ἀρών came into being.

All the three titles can be explained on the basis of East-Aramaic phonetic phenomena. They show what garb Greek words could assume in East-Aramaic mouths. Perhaps it is even a case of re-translation, i.e. of a transliteration of Greek words which had obtained a place in East-Aramaic, but were now transferred back into the Greek alphabet for the synagogue of Dura. A similar case is known from the fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron, which was also discovered at Dura. The name Ἀριμάθεια Mt. 27, 57 takes there the form Ἐρινμαθαία, which, as recognized long ago, ⁽⁸⁾ can be explained only by assuming that the name was taken over from the Syriac version.

Thus we have found out that the Greek titles point in several ways toward a Syriac origin, but do not agree as a matter of course with the literary language of Edessa. Now, the latter stood certainly not alone. According to the evidence of the Fihrist ⁽⁹⁾, Mani wrote six out of his seven books in the Syriac language, and once more the extant fragments of his or his pupils' writings show that « no pure Edessan Syriac was employed » ⁽¹⁰⁾. In the case of Mani it is *a priori* likely that he utilized a dialect that was close to the Babylonian one. But no conclusive proof of this has been found up to now ⁽¹¹⁾.

In such circumstances it is important to note that the Aramaic painting-titles, which exist along with the Greek ones ⁽¹²⁾, unmistakably point toward Babylonia. C. C. Torrey ⁽¹³⁾ has drawn attention to *ammā* for *yam* « pond,

lake » (No. 3; 5); and other instances can be added. In No. 9 the name of Ahasverus is spelt *hšhwrš*. Torrey has tried to go back to a spelling *hšwyrwš* by substituting *wy* for *h* and inverting *wr* to *rw*. But this attempt is hardly convincing, both from the palaeographic and from the phonetic-historical angles. A quite clear graphical datum is arbitrarily modified, in order to get closer to the forms of the name hitherto known. On the other side, here too everything stands explained, once we consider it in connection with Babylonian-Aramaic. An exchange of *h* and Aleph was bound to lead to the pseudo-historical *h* spelling: No. 7 *hly'* instead of *'ly'*. What appears here at the beginning of the word, could have happened in its interior in the case of *hšhwrš*. An additional factor is that both Aleph and *h*, since they were no longer voiced, could exchange their places. In Syriac we have *š'wl'* for *šūālā* ⁽¹⁴⁾, and in Babylonian-Aramaic *lwhn* for *lhwn*, *bntwhn* for *bnthwn* ⁽¹⁵⁾. Our *hšhwrš* could therefore reflect an earlier **hšwhrš* or **hšw'rš*, and the latter would correspond to Arab. *hšuwāroš*, which is preserved in the Fihrist ⁽¹⁶⁾.

Linguistic integration brings necessarily with itself results in the field of the history or art. If the titles on the paintings came from a Babylonian environment, the same might also be the case for the figurations to which they belong. At once the question arises, what the other titles can contribute to this problem.

2.

The Middle Persian paintings and graffitoes over the walls of the synagogue of Dura-Europos have become available two years ago in a complete edition. B. Geiger published their reading and translation with a full commentary in C. H. Kraeling's work on the synagogue ⁽¹⁷⁾. At once we were compelled to draw attention to the numerous wrong readings, false interpretations and incorrect deductions, of which Geiger's work cannot be acquitted ⁽¹⁸⁾. What was set forth on the basis of select instances, shall now be confirmed by the complete interpretation of three inscriptions, whose writing is clearest and whose preservation is most complete.

No. 53 of Geiger's numeration (Op. cit., p. 313 f.) reads according to its editor (we transcribe it into our usual spelling):

- 1) *vs'n Y'TWN LK 'ZLWN 'yny'*
- 2) *'ZLYN (?) 'L 'ZLWN 'yny'*
- 3) [*yzd'n (?)*] *sp'sy YHSNWN*

This is translated as:

« Many are coming, thou go otherwise!
They go (?), do not go otherwise!
To God give ye thanks! »

Already a first reading gives rise to serious doubts. We are told of a plurality of men, they « come » (1) and at the same time « go (away) » (2). A person addressed is at one and the same time supposed to go elsewhere (1) and not to go (2)! On the top of all, the people supposed to do all this nonsense are invited to thank God. Even without going into particulars, it remains not clear what the inscription means; we fail to understand how such an interpretation could be put forward at all. Experiences of this kind are repeated when one turns to the original text, or rather to what is presented as such.

At the beginning of the first line Geiger notes « the tall vertical stroke..., which is not a letter ». A look to the plate shows that it is a *l*, in agreement with other occurrences of that letter in the inscription; it is, for instance, exactly similar to the one in *'ZLWN*. Only, the *l* at the beginning of 1. shows at the lower end a *y*. In this way we have recovered the word *LY* « I »; and the syntactic structure of the sentence at once grows clearer.

To *LY* as the first word corresponds *LK*, *tō* as the fourth. More than this: *Y'TWN* « to come » finds its counterpart in *'ZLWN* « to go », and lastly *vs'n* as the goal of the first action is matched by *'yny'* « otherwise » as the goal of the second. Without doubt *'ZLWN* can be understood, as Geiger does, as Imp. 2nd Sing. But already when we try, following Geiger, to translate *vs'n Y'TWN* as « many are coming », we stumble on the objection that in this case *Y'TWNd* should be expected. This interpretation is completely eliminated once we recognize that *LY* was the first word. We can now easily understand, why that « tall vertical stroke » could in no case be accepted by Geiger as a letter (as a matter of fact, there are two of them).

The last but one letter of *Y'TWN* is blurred in its lower portion. But we can still recognize that it went as far down as the following one. This fact excludes a reading *-WN*, because in such a case the last sign always reaches farther down than the last but one. We are confront-

ed in both instances with the same letters, either double *w* or double *n*. Now, it is a peculiarity of our inscriptions that in some instances and in the case of ideograms they spell defectively the *-wn* ending of the 3rd Plur. Imperf. We may quote from Geiger's own readings (without going into the question whether they are correct or not): 45,4 *YMYTN*; 49,4 *YMYTN*; 52,2 *'ŠMYTN*. We add 43,7, where Geiger without apparent reason reads *nk'l*; we should read *Y'TN*. Referring to the instance in hand, *LY... Y'TNn* is to be translated: « I... shall come ».

In this way the construction becomes clear: « I... shall come, go thou...! » The next difficulty is represented by *'yny'* « otherwise ». Geiger maintains quite confidently (he says, it is « now definitely settled »), that we have to recognize here the word *ēnīh*. *Ēnīh*, however, means not « otherwise », but (as accepted by Geiger himself) « or else ». Besides, taking into consideration the parallelism between the portion of the sentence beginning with *LY* and that beginning with *LK*, we would, in the second portion, expect the complement of direction before the verb, not after it. Thus Geiger's interpretation has to be discarded and we must return to the one we propounded some time ago. We are confronted with the attested Aramaic name *Īnyānī*, *Īnyā*, *Īnī*, *Innī* ⁽¹⁹⁾.

Y'TWN, *āmatan* can be joined with *'L*, *ō* in order to indicate the direction. *Kār. 2,7* *ō nazdikih i... āmatan* means « to come to somebody » ⁽²⁰⁾. But *ō* can also be omitted: *Kār. 1, 25 nazdikih i amāh ayēt* « he shall come to us ». In conformity with the second employ, the meaning in the present case is: *LY vs'n Y'TNn* « I want to come to many ». With *'ZLWN*, on the contrary, *'L*, *ō* can never be omitted. We cannot, therefore, translate: *LK 'ZLWN 'yny'* « go thou forth to *Īnyā* », just as we could not translate: « thou go otherwise ». The only remaining alternative is: « Go thou away, *Īnyā*! »

Geiger's reading of the following lines is not less objectionable. We pointed already out that it is difficult to invite the addressed person not to go away, after he has been ordered just before to do this very thing. Nonsense in meaning goes back in all certainty to a wrong reading; and in fact Geiger calls the second letter of *'ZLWN* doubtful. We may extend this doubt to the whole word. *YBLWN* stands here, and nothing else. The real difficulty lies with the preceding verb.

Geiger remarks: « I have tried in vain to find a satisfactory reading and interpretation of this word ». We may be thankful for this confession. At least he has correctly observed that the first letter has been shifted towards the right by a crack in the plastering. The reading is of course incorrect. It is not a *w* or an ^ʿAin, but an Aleph. Again, Geiger did not notice that on the broken piece to the left above the first syllable the remnants of a second one are found. We can recognize the left hook, turning downwards, as well as the upper part of the right hook of a *s*. This observation was confirmed by an examination of the original. The form of the letter is exactly similar to the twice-recurring *s* in *sp*^ʿ*sy* 3. Geiger goes on: « The following letter is a little blurred ». But it can hardly be a *z*. A comparison with the following leads rather toward *y*. The rest is *-lyn*, and the whole reads: ^ʿSYLYN. Inscriptions 1 and 2 of Tang-i Sarvak have yielded ^ʿsyry^ʿ and against Henning's wrong reading we could show that we have here a translation of Middle-Persian *bandakān* ⁽²¹⁾. While at Tang-i Sarvak there is Status emphaticus, we have here the Status absolutus. Here as there, *assīrīn* means not « prisoners », but « servants (slaves) ». The translation of the second line is: « Servants do not fetch (bring here), Īnyā!»

In the third line Geiger read correctly *sp*^ʿ*sy* and connected it with a form of the ideogram *YHSNW*. *Spāsē dāstan* means « to thank » The ending *-w* in the place of *-wn* distinguishes *YHSNW* from the other verbal masks formed with the 3rd Plur. Imperf. H. F. Junker alone, in his *Frahang* edition of 1955, read *YHSNNtn*. In the meantime our inscriptions have shown that in *YMYTN*, *Y^ʿTN* etc. the ending can actually be written defectively. In the present case the last but one and last but two letters of the word are perfectly similar, as in *Y^ʿTNn* I. To this we add the fact that the last letter is a final *-n*; and this gives the reading *YHSNNn*. *Sp*^ʿ*sy* *YHSNNn* « I shall thank » says the same person who in the first line has proclaimed his *LY... Y^ʿTNn*.

Not a trace can be recognized of Geiger's *yzd*^ʿ*n*, which is supposed to precede *sp*^ʿ*sy*. From the grammatical point of view, it is excluded by the correct reading.

At the end let us repeat the reading and the translation:

- (1) *LY vs*^ʿ*n Y^ʿTNn LK ^ʿZLWN ^ʿyny^ʿ*
- (2) ^ʿSYLYN ^ʿL YBLWN ^ʿyny^ʿ
- (3) *sp*^ʿ*sy YHSNNn*

« I shall come to many, go thou away, Īnyā!
Servants do not fetch, Īnyā!

Thanks shall I know ».

Out of Geiger's eleven words, six are wrongly interpreted. Moreover, he has arbitrarily added one word and equally arbitrarily omitted one. On top of all this, Geiger has not succeeded in extracting from the inscription anything resembling a sensible meaning.

3.

We add as second inscription No. 42 according to Geiger's numeration (p. 300 f.). It leads to the problem of the meaning of the majority of our graffitoes. Again we begin with Geiger's reading and translation:

- (1) *BYRH prwrtyn QDM*
- (2) *ŠNT 15 WYWM lšnw*
- (3) ^ʿMT *yzd*^ʿ*n*th[m]pr[n]by
- (4) *dpywr ZY žhmy ^ʿL*
- (5) *ZNH BYT^ʿ ^ʿPš ZNH nk^ʿl*
- (6) *ptčyt*

« The month Fravartīn in
the year fifteen and the day Rašnu,
when Yazdāntax[m]-Far[n]bay,
the scribe of the building, to
this house [came], and by him this picture
was observed ».

Whoever compares the translation with the original, sees at once that in the fifth line « came » remains without an equivalent. Of course Geiger puts it only as an integration and opines that the writer must have left it out by mistake (p. 293 n. 91; p. 301 under 5). No traces of a blurred or destroyed word have been found.

The postulates, on which Geiger's interpretation is based are twofold. In the first place he admits that the majority of the inscriptions follow a fixed formula, in which first the « coming » of the writer is mentioned, and then his « beholding » or « observing » the paintings in the synagogue. The second postulate is that the syntactic sequence subject — object — verb is always respected. Accordingly, Geiger requires the verb *Y^ʿTWN* «to come» after the mention of the subject *dpywr* 4 and of the synagogue as goal (^ʿL *ZNH BYT^ʿ* 4-5). The validity of both postulates has to be investigated.

We will not deny the existence of more or less fixed formulae; but no compulsion needs

to be inferred therefrom. The first verb must not necessarily be always *Y^oTWN*, since the second too, according to Geiger, oscillates between *nykldyt*, *ndyšyt*, *nkylyt*, or (like in the present instance) *ptčyt*. Moreover, neither Aramaic nor Middle Persian know a rigid word-sequence. A look to the Aršām letters shows that the verb frequently precedes the subject; and Syriac likes to prefix the verbum to the object and subject. Also the Nisā ostraka ⁽²²⁾, the parchment of Avromān ⁽²³⁾ and the Susa inscription ⁽²⁴⁾ place the Verbum finitum (or the participle that substitutes it) before the subject. In the case of our graffitoes, we shall reach the same result as when discussing No. 54. Thus it is not necessary to expect the first verb after *BYT^o 5*, nor must it be *Y^oTWN*.

Looking for another place, we stumble on the third line, which Geiger fills nearly completely with a proper name of an uncommon length: *Yazdāntax[m]-Far[n]bay* « Through the Gods Strong-Having Glory (Fortune) as his Share » (p. 297). The editor remarks on this: « the *z* is blurred, the *n* is shorter than usual and similar to a *w* (= *r*), the *m* is damaged..., the *p* (= *f*) is partly blurred and disfigured, the *r* written with a *w* (= *r*) instead of *l* (= *r*), the following *n* is either effaced or incomplete » (p. 297 n. 117). Geiger on the contrary who feels always happy in regard to his own readings, thinks « that this reading is absolutely correct ».

Contrary to Geiger, we were able in 1955 to control this reading on the original in the Museum of Damascus. In the second part of the name, *Farnbay*, no trace of a *n* is visible. The surface is intact, so that no sign could ever have stood there. The so-called *pr* is really *ytr*, *ytw*, or, if we adopt Geiger's reading *yzd^on* with a shorter *n*, *ytn*. Before this is a hole in the plastering, and at least two letters have been lost in it. Keeping in mind the above-discussed spellings *YMYTN* for *YMYTWN*, *Y^oTN* for *Y^oTWN*, we may consider ..]YTN as the concluding portion of a verbal ideogram normally ending in *-YTWN*. *SGYTN* for *SGYTWN* is the most plausible one. Thus we have recovered the missing verb, and at once the now isolated word at the end finds its explanation.

Geiger wanted to recognize it as a ligature *by*. But the comparison with BYRH 1, *BYT^o 5* is not in favour of this. It would be easier to compare the second word of the inscription 3 of Tang-i Sarvak which we have read as *ly* ⁽²⁵⁾.

There it is used as a dative, and the Middle Persian ideogram LY can mean the same. Again the scribe of the inscription introduces himself in 1st person as was observed in No. 53.

In this way we have succeeded in reconstructing the syntactic structure in its decisive point. Two other readings, however, remain to be corrected. In the fourth line Geiger reads *dpywr ZY zḥmy*. The last word is equated with *zaxm* « structure, edifice », which occurs five times in Firdusi (pp. 298 f.). *Dipivar-ī zaxmē* would then be « the scribe of the building », without us being able to tell which building is meant. We do not need to follow Geiger in his further hypotheses, because *zḥmy* reposes on a wrong reading. Geiger speaks of « a strange, hitherto unknown letter which I have identified as a form of the letter *z* » (p. 298). Elsewhere we are told « that this strange and hitherto unknown letter is an imaginative or ornamental form of the letter *z* » (p. 301). There is no need to tell that we have to read *thmy*. Avestan and Old Persian *taxma-* appears as a name-component and as a name ⁽²⁶⁾. The judge of the martyrs of *Karkā d-bēt Sēlōk* is called Tahmyazdgerd in the Syriac Acts.

We are left with *ptčyt* 6. Geiger concedes that we should really read *psčyt*. Nevertheless he proposes the former reading and gives as his reason for it (pp. 293 f.) the fact that Dura parchment 37 verso, line 3, shows *ptčyt* ⁽²⁷⁾. But the *p* read by Geiger is not there, and with it falls away also the comparison. But also from the linguistic point of view no interpretation is possible. Geiger tries to compare his still unexampled *ptčyt* with Avest. ¹*kay-* « to select, to choose ». Two compounds of this actually occur: *vi-kay-* « to select, to divide », med. « to decide », and *ham-kay-* « colligere, to compare ». **Patikay-* is not attested in Avestan, nor in Old Indian nor in any Iranian dialect, and even less is known of a meaning « to observe, to view », which Geiger postulates. A comparison with Old Indian *prati-īks-*, *prati-caḥs-*, *prati-paś-* « to look at », and Parthian *pd-gs-* is irrelevant, since the basic meaning « to see, to look at » contained in all these roots, is not found with ¹*kay-*.

Lastly we take objection on a point of fact. We are informed, with the precise data on month, year and day, that a Persian « scribe » came to the Dura synagogue and looked at the wall paintings, on which the inscription

stands. The supposed scribe does not narrate this in the first person, but the event is recorded in an objective form. Who may have participated in it and felt the need to record this visit on the painting? And why Mardo-chai's triumph alone was gazed at? Were the other paintings not honoured with a single look? And why such a participation here and in other inscriptions is limited to the «scribe» alone? Questions after questions, to which Geiger did not even try to find an answer.

J. de Menasce ⁽²⁸⁾ has said the correct thing long ago: *psyny* = *pēs'nīt* «he has painted». Geiger's first objection, that the letter sequence *-yn-* in *psyny* is *č*, has shown to be groundless. His *ptčyt*, hardly convincing even from the mere epigraphic point of view, is attested nowhere, not even in Dura parchment 37. The second objection, regarding the missing plene spelling of the first syllable, is also easily dispelled; *YMYTN*, *YTN* and the above reconstructed *SG]YTN* 3 show the same omission.

Thus: *SG]YTN LY* (4) *dpywr ZY thmy* *°L* (5) *ZNH BYT°* *°Pš ZNH nk'l* (6) *psyny* «There has come to me the *dpywr* of Taxm to this house and by him this figuration was painted». An important consequence ensues at once. That «scribe», whose «beholding», artistic interest and visit remained inexplicable, was really a painter, a meaning which that word also possesses. The riddles are thereby solved. The fresco contains the date of its painting by a certain painter. We have shown in *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* (1957), pp. 377 f., that this result holds good also for the remaining inscriptions which are said to mention «scribes» and their «behold» («to observe», «to look at», etc.); all this is due to wrong readings by Geiger. We do not need to repeat ourselves. We shall merely add one last objection, unwittingly proffered by Geiger himself.

No. 54 reads according to Geiger: *N?]YINY °prs°m SPR°* «This is I (?)», *Aparsām*, the scribe». For the translation accompanied with a query Geiger appeals to Du Mesnil du Buisson's «c'est moi». Although Geiger says he cannot think of any explanation that starts from Aramaic, he takes over this translation. We can still recognize what is meant thereby. Du Mesnil du Buisson doubtlessly read *NWYNY* and explained it as the East Aramaic form of the 3rd sing. masc. imperf. of *hewā* «to be». It sounds *nehwē*, spelt *nhw°*. By the addition of the suffix of

the 1st sing., it became in Syriac *nehwēn*, written *nhwyny*. The loss of *h* causes no difficulties in Syriac and generally in East Aramaic ⁽²⁹⁾. Nevertheless, this interpretation is to be rejected. There occurs: *ūtay* «I am», ⁽³⁰⁾ but it is not possible to attach to a form of *hewā* the accusative suffix *-nī*.

Thus we must look for another explanation. In support of the reading *NYINY*, Geiger quoted a wall inscription from the temple of Zeus Megistos, as well as an ostrakon from Dura, where the word is found ⁽³¹⁾. Previously we misunderstood this term and lately the editors of the «Inscriptions from Dura-Europos» ⁽³²⁾ have renounced to give an explanation. In reality we have here the East Aramaic form of the 3rd sing. masc. imperf. of the Pa^{cc}el of *ewā*, with the addition of the suffix *-nī*. The Pa^{cc}el of the roots *tertia* *yōd* with *wau* as second radical is formed by doubling the *w* ⁽³³⁾. If we read in all cases *NWYNY* (which really stands there), we recognize *nawwē*, written *n°w°*, with the suffix 1st sing.: *nawwēn*, where the third radical is written with *y*. The loss of the first radical Aleph, often still written, occurs already in Syriac ⁽³⁴⁾. The correct translation can be deduced from the meaning of the Pa^{cc}el of *ewā* in Syriac, «concordem fecit, coniunxit» ⁽³⁵⁾, of the derived *auwānā* «mansio, domicilium, hospitium» ⁽³⁶⁾ and of the second form of Arabic *awā* «recevoir qn. chez soi; lui donner l'hospitalité».

The wall inscription of Dura-Europos is therefore to be read:

NWYNY mnwš «May accept me Manūš,
BRY mnwš the son of Manūš (me:)
mtrdr Mīhrdār»

To the forms of the name cf. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 191; 204; 208; Alt-heim-Stiehl, *Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen* (1953), p. 72. Parallel to this, the synagogue inscription No. 54 reads:

NW]YNY °prs°m SPR° «May accept me *Aparsām* the scribe».

The appearance of an East Aramaic form *NWYNY* is interesting. It has several parallels ⁽³⁷⁾. Geiger's general denial of the existence of such East Aramaic forms (p. 294, n. 99) made it impossible for him to understand this one. The presence of the term *SPR°* may be added, and with it we return to our starting point; by *SPR°* only the «scribe» can be meant ⁽³⁸⁾, and the difference of

dpywr, *dpyr* shows that by this something else was indicated, i.e. the « painter ».

The results hitherto obtained render clear the beginning of the inscription as well. If no « beholder » but a painter is intended, then the presence of a date can be better understood. Inscriptions by artists often contain the date when the work was begun or completed. Of course one day would have been hardly enough for the execution of this relatively large painting. And indeed the coming of the painter (SG]YTN 3) is distinguished from the completion of the painting (*psyny* 6). The former coincides with the beginning of the activity, the latter with its conclusion. Accordingly, we should expect not one date, as accepted by Geiger, but two. Thus we can suspect *a priori* that Geiger's reading of the first lines is also incorrect.

Geiger reads them (1) *BYRḤ prwrtyn QDM* (2) *ŠNT 15 WYWM lšnw*. His reading of the last word goes against the shape of the letters and the contents of the other inscriptions. It is, beyond any doubt, *lšny*. In this connection we can quote: 45, 2 *WYWM mtrspndy*; 47,1 *YWM mtlspndy*; 48,1 *WYWM lšnd* (= *lšny*, wrongly read by Geiger), and 3 *WYWM lšny*; 51, 1 *YWM hwrmdy*. The use of the oblique case after the introductory preposition *B* was to be expected. This is shown by the names of the months which appear in the oblique case, at least in their majority: 43, 1 *BYRḤ mtry*; the same 45, 1; 48, 1; 50, 1. In 47, 1 *BYRḤ štrywl* is accordingly corrected by writing *štr<yw>ly* (wrongly read by Geiger) below it.

Geiger continues: (3) *ṽMT yzdṽnth[m*. The rest of the line has already been corrected. The letter in the second word read by Geiger as *t* does not agree with the other occurrences of this letter. The right bend is always united with the left stroke: above and mostly also below. Cf. *prwrtyn* 1; *ṽMT* 3; SG]YTN 3; *thmy* 4; *BYTṽ* 5; *psyny* 6. In the present instance we have to read *yw*. Geiger's *h* too is incorrect; it is a *m*, as shown by the comparison with *QDM* 1; *WYWM* 2; *ṽMT* 3; *thmy* 4. Geiger has allowed himself to be misled by the stroke which runs downwards on the left side of the letter and then curves slightly to the left. But this stroke does not begin, as should be the case with *h* (cf. *BYRḤ* 1), near the bar of the preceding sign running leftward above, but only near the downward stroke drawn toward the left below. This is

exactly what is the rule for the ligature of an *m* with following letter: *ṽMT* 3; *thmy* 4. Thus we have here a ligature *my*, comparable, even if not identical, with the one in *thmy* 4.

The correct reading is *yzdṽnYWMy*. As shown by the ideogram, it indicates a day, not a personal name. *Yazdān rōč* « day of the *yazdān* » offers no difficulty as a compound. But a day of this name does not exist among those that have come down to us. An interpretation must start from the fact that *yazd* indicates above all Ahuramazda (³⁹). Of course a reference to him in this case is only possible if the plural *yazdān* meant already « God », as it does in New Persian. H. S. Nyberg (⁴⁰) has admitted as much, and for the synagogue inscriptions it stands confirmed by 52, 2. Also a holed seal of the 5th century from Northern Caucasus with the legend *ṽpstṽn ṽL yzdṽn* (⁴¹) points toward *yazdān* with a singular meaning. Lastly, the exclamation *dēvān āmad*, found in Ṭabarī (Ann. 1, 2441, 1 de Goeje and Adn.a) and translated as *qad jā'a š-šaytān*, shows that in the year H. 16 *dēvān* too was employed as a singular. This is enough to show that *yzdṽnYWM* can be nothing else but the first day of the month, Hormuzd.

With this conclusion, Geiger's explanation falls to the ground also in other places.

The syntactic structure of our inscription is built up with him as follows: « Month - year - day, when - personal name -, the *dpywr* of..., came to this house and looked at the painting ». This would mean that the main sentence is missing, because the portion introduced by the conjunction « when » contains the principal concept, but grammatically speaking is a secondary sentence. To consider the date as the main sentence is impossible, both from the conceptual and grammatical point of view. We have now the additional fact that the so-called personal name of the *dpywr* becomes dismembered into a verb SG]YTN and in the name of the day *yzdṽnYWM*. Then *ṽMT* cannot in the present instance have the meaning of *kaδ*, *kā*. Further observations support this assertion and at the same time allow us to reach the correct interpretation.

It has turned out that we must read *WYWM lšny* 2. The oblique case implies that the preposition *B* in *BYRḤ* took effect not only on the name of the month, but also on the name of the day: « in the month Fravartīn ... and (on) the day Rašn ». The second name of a

day *yzd'nYWM*My stands also in the oblique. Elsewhere in our inscriptions the corresponding word behind ³MT stands in the same case:

43, 3 ³MT *mtry* (misread by Geiger, but ascertained by the comparison with *mtry* in the first line) ⁽⁴²⁾;

44, 2 ³MT *hwrmzdy* (thus according to Geiger's reading; but see farther below);

45, 2 ³MT *dynury ZY tyry* (misread by Geiger as *pkwry ZY dpyr*);

47, 1 f. ³MT *mtl'spndy* (for *mtl'spndy*: Geiger reads *mtlulwspn(?)dy*).

49, 2 ³MT *hwrmzdy*.

It would be absurd to recognize in all these instances personal names, as Geiger does. They should in each case be the subject of the sentences beginning with ³MT, and therefore could not stand in the oblique case (the *idāfet* is always written with *ZY*). Once more we are led to conclude that ³MT is no conjunction.

One more remark. All the examples quoted can be understood as name of days. Where this is not the case, we are confronted with evident misreadings. The appearance of a name of month in 45, 2 supports this interpretation. Going through the instances in which the oblique remains unmarked behind ³MT, we find that even these turn out to be names of days:

48, 1 ³MT *nhwšt* ⁽⁴³⁾;

51, 2 ³MT [*p*] *lwltyn* (misread by Geiger as *rt'w*).

Summing up, we can say that in seven out of a total of ten instances these names of days stand in the oblique case.

³MT remains to be explained. We concede that this ideogram in the Middle Persian of the books and inscriptions means *kād*, *kā*. It would thus correspond to Syr. *emmat*, written ³mty, to Akkad. *immati* from *ina mati*, Hebr. *mātai*, Arab. *matā* ⁽⁴⁴⁾. But side by side with this the Lexicon of Bar Bahlūl 194, 1 Duval gives *emmātā* « tempora ». From there we would reach a stat. constr. sing. *emmat*, which according to Nöldeke ⁽⁴⁵⁾ could be understood in the sense of temporal duration (*zabnā yidīcā* « for a certain time »). It appears in ³ymt *d* « as long as » ⁽⁴⁶⁾ and also in the present instance. The beginning of No. 44 shows that we must indeed interpret it in this way. Here Geiger read: *WYWM [prwr]t[yn] ³MT*

hwrmzdy. But it is *LMT hwrmzdy*. Thus, with an elision of the initial Aleph: *LMT* for *L³MT*, there appears before *emmat* the preposition *le* « towards » ⁽⁴⁷⁾, « in the direction of » ⁽⁴⁸⁾. The simple *emmat* would thus be specified in its meaning of duration by the addition of the preposition.

A parallel case can be quoted from modern Egyptian. The conjunction *lammā* « when, after » can sometimes assume the meaning of « till ». We can say: *sibu yišrab, lammā yišba^c* « let him drink till he has enough ». Of course *lammā* does not mean here simply « till », but the imagination of the speaker anticipates, as in other instances, the completion: « Let him drink so long, that (= when) he grows satiated ».

The elision of a conjunction ³MT « when » would eliminate even from the syntactical point of view the difficulty pointed out above, i.e. the lack of a main sentence. We obtain one single main sentence, subdivided by ³Pš and containing two finite verbs and a date at the beginning. We give now our reading and translation:

- (1) *BYRH prwrtyn QDM*
- (2) *ŠNT 15 WYWM lšny*
- (3) ³MT *yzd'nYWM*My [SG] *YTN LY*
- (4) *dpywr ZY tšmy cL*
- (5) *ZNH BYT³ ³Pš ZNH nk³l*
- (6) *psyny*

« In the month of Fravartīn, under the year 15 and (on) the day Rašn till to the (day) Hormizd: (there) came to me the painter of Taxm to this house, and by him this figuration was painted.»

Of the 21 words of the inscription, Geiger has wrongly read or understood eight. This result agrees with the one arrived at discussing No. 53.

4.

Yet another of the Middle Persian inscriptions of the synagogue needs correction. It is Geiger's No. 46. His reading and translation are:

- (1) *BYRH ³m^wldt WYWM*
- (2) *prwltyn ³MT*
- (3) *lšnky dpyr Wbwłš³tw[r]*
- (4) *BYN Y³TWN Wbym³y*
- (5) *ndyšyt*

« Month Amurdat and the day
Fravartīn, when
Rašnak, the scribe, and Burz-ātu[r]
came in and the *bym*^y
was beheld ».

Our reading is based, like the preceding ones, on personal knowledge of the original in the Museum of Damascus. Moreover, we have utilized an infra-red photograph, which ought to have been also in the hands of Geiger (although he never mentions it).

The first wrong readings occur in the third line. Geiger's *lšnky* would be oblique case and thus could not be the subject of the sentence, as already recognized above. In reality we have to read *lšn* with following *KY*. The particle *ky* « nempe, ergo, igitur », ἄρα⁽⁴⁹⁾ or « thus »⁽⁵⁰⁾ is always placed after, i.e. enclitic; and this explains why it is written together with *lšn*. As found out above, we have to translate: « (on) the day Fravartīn till the Rašn that is ». This means from the 19th Amurdat to the 18th of the following month, i.e. of Šahrēvar.

Concerning the following personal names *Wbulš²tw[r]* = *ut burz-ātu[r]*, Geiger remarks that « a distant trace of the *w* after the *t* is preserved in all photographs, whereas the last letter is no longer visible ». He says that the final *r* is missing, but of *w* too there is no trace either on the original or on the two photos at our disposal. It is not even to be seen on Geiger's Pl. XLV 2. In spite of this, he states: « my reading is therefore (sic) absolutely certain ». We must read *wbul²t*, in which the *l* is like that in *nk²l* 42, 5. The name of the Arabic goddess Allāt, Ilāt is frequently (and chiefly in compounds) written *lāt*, *lt*; cf. Nabat. ^c*bd-lt*, *šlm-lt* etc.⁽⁵¹⁾ The preceding *wbw*- can be compared with the Nabatean proper name *whbw*, Οὐαβώ⁽⁵²⁾. The spelling with final *-w* is met with in Nabatean⁽⁵³⁾, in Babylonian-Aramaic (*šlwmw*)⁽⁵⁴⁾ and in Dura itself (*šmyšw*)⁽⁵⁵⁾. Omission of the *h* is known from Syriac and from East Aramaic in general. We are therefore confronted with an Arab name in East Aramaic spelling. There is no doubt that Ingholt-Seyrig-Starcky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre* (1955) No. 472 should be completed as [*w*] *bwl[t]* or [*wh*] *bwl[t]*.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The translation of this line is: « there came the painter Wa(h)bulāt ». The apposition can precede already in Bible-Aramaic⁽⁵⁷⁾ and

the same applies for Syriac⁽⁵⁸⁾: *malkā anas̄tos* and *anas̄tos malkā*.

In the fourth line *Wbym^y* corresponds to 47, 3 *Wby^my* and 48,2 *by^my*. Geiger rejects our and Pagliaro's interpretation as βῆμα, because this could not be written as *by^m*. C. Brockelmann⁽⁵⁹⁾ quotes for Syriac the spellings *bym*, *b^m* and *b^ymt²* (plur.). Of these the first corresponds to *Wbym^y*; the third shows both: Aleph and *y*. Since Aleph often was not pronounced, it could get into wrong places in Syriac⁽⁶⁰⁾. Thus the spelling *by^m* shows nothing peculiar. Babylonian-Aramaic has *ml²kw²*⁽⁶¹⁾. On the use of the βῆμα with the Jews cf. J. Dauviller, in *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 6, pp. 11 f., and C. H. Kraeling, op. cit., p. 339 l.

The reading of the last word remains. Geiger explains *ndyšyt* as *nīšīd* « he looked, beheld » (op. cit., p. 293 l). For him it is synonymous with *nklyt* = *nikīrīt*. Concerning the reading in 46,5, we remark that *d* in *ndyšyt* stands in evident contrast with the same sign in *²m^wldt* 1 and *dpyr* 3. On the contrary, it agrees with 44, 2, where Geiger reads *Wkntk*, i.e. *w*. On our inscription it corresponds to the added *w* of *²m^wldt* 1, which does not appear on Geiger's plate, but is shown by the infra-red photo.

We arrive thus at *nwyšyt* « painted ». On the side of Middle Persian *nipištan*, *nivištan* and *nipišt*, *nivišt*, we have *harvisp-pēsīt* « endowed with every ornament ». Now, as we find *nivēšēt* at the side of *nivēsēt*, in the same way *pēsīt* may be accompanied by a **(ni)-pēsīt*, *nivēšīt*. The spelling of *w*, not recognized and misread as *d* by Geiger, appears yet a second time; and again we have to recognize that the action indicated is painting, not beholding.

In 44, 4 too Geiger reads *nk²l ndyšyt*; thus also 5 *²Pšn nykylyt Wndyšyt*. He remarks in both cases: « blurred and badly written », in the first case with the addition: « but quite certain ». But the word in question ends in *-yšt*, not in *-yšyt*, which excluded *a priori* the reading *ndyšyt*. The upper part of the so-called *d* is a vertical stroke, and not, as we should expect, a hook open to the left. What Geiger takes to be the lower hook of his *d*, does not belong to the sign. Thus we read *nk²l nwyšt*, which corresponds to 42, 5 f. *nk²l psynynt*. In the second instance 44, 5 the writing is so blurred, that not even Geiger dared to add his « quite certain ».

We are left with 47, 3, according to Geiger

to be read *Wby'm'y ndyšyt*. But the *d* agrees neither with that in *mtlspndy* 1 nor to that in *dpyr* 2. If it is writing at all, it is corrected by the boldly written *y*. The word is *NYŠHn*, not *ndyšyt*. Even should we insist on Geiger's reading, this would not contradict our explanation, because under *Wby'm'y* we can clearly recognize (although not observed by Geiger) the little faded words ²]Pš *psynyt*. Thus the whole agrees in spelling and meaning with 42, 6 and is to be translated accordingly: (3) *Wby'm'y NYŠHn* (4) [²]Pš *psynyt* « and the βῆμα of the women he has painted ».

Our reading and translation of 46 are:

- (1) *BYRH ʾmʷldt WYWMʾ*
- (2) *prwltyn ʾMT*
- (3) *lšnKY dpyr wbwłʾt*
- (4) *BYN YʾTWN Wby'm'y*
- (5) *nwyšyt*

« In the month Amurdat, and (on) the day Fravartīn till Rašn then Wabulāt came here, and the βῆμα was painted ».

Out of twelve words, Geiger misread or misunderstood five.

5.

The preceding discussion was limited to three inscriptions. Our rectification of their reading and interpretation has cut away the ground, we hope forever, from under Geiger's conception of them. Besides, let us recall our interpretation of No. 52, that appeared ⁽⁶²⁾ before Geiger's study, which in this instance too missed all the essential points. With all this, I think we have obtained a basis for the derivation of the frescoes. The Middle Persian titles on the paintings, along with the Greek and Aramaic ones, give us a cue to the origin of the painters, and thus also of their models.

Let us return to what we have already said. Σήμων 30 goes back to the Syriac translation of the Old Testament, i.e. to the Targum of the Jewish community of Adiabene ⁽⁶³⁾. Συμβασθαρσ[... reminds us of Syriac, but is not attested in the Edessene literary language. *Hšhwrš* is the model for *hšuwāroš*, and ʾAqōw too points toward Babylonia. Also the linguistic peculiarities of the Aramaic titles are at home there.

The Middle Persian inscriptions too be-

long, for their language and datation, at least to the Sasanid kingdom. Īnyā has been shown to be an Aramaic name, Aparsām and Tahm Persian, Wabulāt an Arabic one. The latter leads us to the neighbourhood of the Euphrat frontier. Also the numerous East Aramaic peculiarities, that have been observed before, point, within the Sasanid sphere, once more to Babylonia. The picture gained from the epigraphic material is therefore uniform. Babylonia must have been the home of the painters.

Another result has been arrived at by Kraeling, whose merit consists in having gathered together everything available for an explanation and derivation of the wall paintings. Facing the problem where the models should be looked for and whence did the painters come, he starts from the alternative: Syria or Babylonia ⁽⁶⁴⁾. But the points of contact with Targum and Midrash texts ⁽⁶⁵⁾, although correctly pointed out, hardly allow any inference concerning the artistic origin of the paintings ⁽⁶⁶⁾. In the first place those texts have been handed down from far later centuries ⁽⁶⁷⁾ and the mere chance that they are preserved in a West or East Aramaic redaction has no bearing on the problem whether in the middle of the 3rd century they existed in the same linguistic form. Secondly, a recent discovery has confronted the question of the age and origin of the whole Midrash literature with new facts. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

There is a second instance in which Kraeling's derivation is affected by facts that were not yet known to him. For the Middle Persian graffitoes he had only Geiger's readings at his disposal. It speaks strongly for Kraeling's judgement, that he was conscious of the untrustworthiness of this material, and therefore utilized it very sparingly ⁽⁶⁹⁾. Our explanation of the graffitoes as painters' inscriptions gives a quite new picture. Commagene, Chalcis, Osrhoene and Adiabene ⁽⁷⁰⁾, or (as he says elsewhere) Edessa and Nisibis ⁽⁷¹⁾ presented according to Kraeling the greatest likelihood to be the original home of the art reflected in the wall paintings of the synagogue. But if we compare the elements of language and of fact yielded by the Greek, Aramaic and Middle Persian titles, the result for Syria in general and Chalcis in particular is nil. The Commagene too is out of the run; only the Osrhoene, or more exactly Adiabene, is left in a single instance. On the other side, as pointed out above, the overwhelming mass

of what can be ascertained leads us toward late Parthian and early Sasanian Babylonia.

We will not support this result with arguments from the history of art. From the point of view of place and time, we have only, besides Palmyra, the reliefs of Tang-i Sarvak in Khuzistan ⁽⁷²⁾. As they belong to the late Parthian period, they have not been utilized by Kraeling for comparative purposes. The points of contact are numerous. They appear in such particulars as dress, the form of the throne, of furniture in general, the figurations of horsemen and the reclining on the kline ⁽⁷³⁾ but also in the general outlines. The rows of standing figures, frontality carried to its extremes, the superimposition of narrow strips of composition, cannot be denied as further points of contact. Tang-i Sarvak too is due to the irradiation from a Babylonian central point, except that the late Hellenistic and Roman components considerably diminish towards the east, while they are rather on the increase in the Roman-Sasanian frontier town.

In his search for other biblical figurations inside synagogues, Kraeling could not scrape together very much. There are the synagogues of Beth Alpha, Naʿaran and Gerasa, and to the examples from Palestina and Transjordan we can add some from North Africa ⁽⁷⁴⁾. But the relation with Kraeling's material of comparison draws very thin on account of the fact that we have to look to Babylonia for valid models for Dura, and that the painters too came from there; and this leaving completely aside any question of stylistic relationship. The uniqueness of the wall paintings of Dura, stressed by Kraeling ⁽⁷⁵⁾, stands once more confirmed. In the whole East Jewish zone nothing comparable can be found for the middle of the 3rd century. At the most, some aftermaths can be recognized.

The presence among the titles of some which prelude to an Arabic penetration, came as a surprise. We have recognized in *ḥšhwš* a forerunner of Arabic *ḥšuwāroš*. Among the artists Wa(h)bulāt bore an Arabic name. And strangely enough, it is an Arab Jewish community which has left us the sole literary mention of representations of the human figure inside a synagogue. The Jews of Medina in the middle of the 6th century are said to have represented (*šawwarat*) their enemy Malik b. al-ʿAjlān in their synagogues, and to have cursed him every time they entered them. ⁽⁷⁶⁾

We have shown elsewhere the close contacts

that existed between the Jewish communities of Western Arabia and the Sasanian state ⁽⁷⁷⁾. The latter looked for support in Medina on the Jewish tribes of the Naḍir and Quraiza ⁽⁷⁸⁾ and Khusrō I Anōšarvān had granted to Mundir III of Ḥira the rule over the Yamāma as far as Ṭāʾif and the other parts of Ḥijāz ⁽⁷⁹⁾. But even before that another Laḥmide, Imruʾulqais, had extended his influence over Ḥijāz in the times of Šāpūr I, Hormizd I and Bah-rām I ⁽⁸⁰⁾. Imruʾulqais's funeral inscription of 328 ⁽⁸¹⁾ mentions his expedition against Naj-rān, and the newly found Ḥimyarite inscription R 535 has confirmed his presence there ⁽⁸²⁾. He is a contemporary of the Synagogue of Dura, as Mundir is a contemporary of Malik b. al-ʿAjlān.

6.

The Middle Persian inscriptions of the synagogue of Dura-Europos are not only written in the language of the Persian enemy. They also reckon by Persian months and days, they count by the regnal years of Šāpūr I. Persian and one Arabic names appear along with the Aramaic ones; we find also a Zoroastrian conception like *yazdān*. How was this possible in a Roman garrison town and frontier fortress, and moreover in the course of decades that are filled with seldom ceasing actions of war?

We must agree with Kraeling when he says that it is primarily a question of chronology ⁽⁸³⁾. The 14th (No. 43, 1 f.; 44, 1) and the 5th (No. 42, 2) regnal years of Šāpūr are mentioned. As already supposed some time ago ⁽⁸⁴⁾, Dura was temporarily evacuated by the Romans in 253. Accordingly, Šāpūr's victory inscription of the Kaʿba-i Zardušt places the city among the conquests of his campaign that commenced in 253 ⁽⁸⁵⁾. But it remained in Persian hands for less than one year. The Dura papyrus Inv. DP. 90 shows that on April 30th, 254, the town was again in Roman hands ⁽⁸⁶⁾. This brings into difficulties all those who place the accession of Šāpūr in 241-2 (A. Maricq), 242 (Th. Nöldeke) or 243 (S. H. Taqizadeh). In that case the activity of Persian *dipivars*, who expressly claimed to be such and left no doubt about their political position, would have taken place under the eyes of the Roman garrison.

Even if, following W. Ensslin ⁽⁸⁷⁾, we place the beginning of the first year of Šāpūr on March 1st, 240, we get no solution. We leave

aside the fact that, as will appear afterwards, this day could not represent the beginning of the regnal year of a Sasanian king ⁽⁸⁸⁾. But both Kraeling ⁽⁸⁹⁾ and Ensslin overlooked the difficulty that with the Rašn of Fravartīn 15 (No. 42, 1 f.) we are out of the running. Because, if Fravartīn 1st coincided with New Year's day, i.e. September 19th, 254, then Rašn, the 18th day of the month, corresponded to October 6th. At that time Dura was already back in Roman hands.

We owe the correct solution to a private communication. On May 24th, 1957, C. Bradford Welles wrote reminding us that W. B. Henning had shifted the coronation day of Šāpūr to the 12th April, 240 ⁽⁹⁰⁾. If we accept this date, then the regnal year, according to the usual reckoning ⁽⁹¹⁾, ought to begin with the preceding New Year; practically it is to be shifted back to that date as its beginning. Šāpūr's first regnal year would have commenced, not from the historical but from the chronological point of view, with the 23th of September, 239. The 14th regnal year, therefore, must begin with the 19th September, 252, and the Šaθrēvar of Mihr (No. 43, 1 f.), i.e. the 4th day of the 7th month, would be March 22nd, 253, and Fravartīn (1st day) of the same month would be March 19th. If the 15th regnal year of Šāpūr I commenced with September 19th, 253, the Rašn of Fravartīn, i.e. the 18th day of the first month, would have coincided with October 6th, 253. At that time Dura was still Persian ⁽⁹²⁾.

All this goes to show that the inscriptions of painters, in as far as they contain dates, fall within the year 253, that of the Persian occupation. But also those inscriptions which contain the names of months and days only can be brought within that period. No. 45, 1; 48, 1 and 50, 1 show again the Mihr, as already in 43, 1 and 44, 1. Amurdāt (46, 1) and Šaθrēvar (47, 1), being the 5th and 6th months, should be attributed to the 14th regnal year and would begin with the 19th January and 19th February, falling thus in 253. If *ʾwrtwhšt* 51, 1 has been correctly restored, we would reach, starting from the 15th year, a month which begins with October 19th, 253.

All the extant dates can thus be brought within the year of the Persian occupation. The painters carried out their work during this none-too-long span of time. Having come to Dura as subjects of the occupying power and being natives of Sasanian Babylonia, they wrote and dated as it was customary in their

home country. The pictorial decoration of the synagogue represents thus the memorial of a passing Persian occupation of Dura and of the tangible favour it showed to their necessary supporters, the Jews. If we recall that one of Šāpūr's ancestors was a Jewish lady taken in the war ⁽⁹³⁾, it may be that the political and religious-political behaviour of the occupation authorities was due to instructions from the king himself. But the anti-Roman tendency of the Jews ⁽⁹⁴⁾ and their alliance with the Persians ⁽⁹⁵⁾ are otherwise so well known, that they suffice to explain this behaviour.

7.

One of Kraeling's most important results ⁽⁹⁶⁾ is the observation that illustrated manuscripts had been the models of the frescoes.

Certain books of the Old Testament contained, in the due sequence of the narrative, coloured miniatures, which were placed at the head of each column. It was still the scroll, and not the codex, for which the several scenes were painted; and only from there they were transported on the wall. It remains uncertain whether the painters in Dura took their models immediately from such a scroll, or we have to admit a first transportation on walls between the original scroll and the synagogue paintings ⁽⁹⁷⁾. The fact that the painters came not from Dura, but from Babylonia, and the observation (to be made later on) that we meet with a similar connection of book miniatures with wall painting in the centre of the Sasanian kingdom, go to show that a direct use of illustrated scrolls is admissible in Dura too. Most important is the fact, that in certain instances we can surmise not only a scroll written in Aramaic, but also a Greek one ⁽⁹⁸⁾. This agrees with what we have found out concerning the Aramaic and Greek titles on the paintings.

Summing up the results hitherto obtained, we can determine the following points on the historical position of the paintings and of their authors:

1. The painters came from the Sasanian kingdom, to be exact from Babylonia. We can ascertain Aramaic names, as well as a Persian and an Arabic one.

2. All the paintings were executed during the year 253, in the course of a passing occupation of Dura by the Persians.

3. The comparatively luxurious decoration of the synagogue, which was intended to compete with the frescoes in the pagan shrines of Dura⁽⁸⁹⁾, proves that the Persians considered the Jews of Dura as their partisans and favoured them accordingly. The frescoes are the monument of a Sasanian religious policy directed against the Roman West.

4. Illustrated scrolls of Old Testament books supplied the immediate and ultimate models of the frescoes.

It has not hitherto been noticed that some parallels can be found to the items in the preceding list. For a comparison with the position of the Jews we can quote what we know about the beginnings of Manichaeism. We shall follow the same sequence, in order to put the correspondences in their proper light. The facts are as follows:

1. The founder of Manichaeism, a contemporary of Šāpūr I, came from the north of Babylonia. According to his own witness, Mani was born in Mardīnū, on the upper canal of Nahr Kūtā⁽¹⁰⁰⁾. On the other side, Theodore bar Kōnai⁽¹⁰¹⁾ places the home of Mani in the neighbourhood of Gauxai, i.e. in Bēt Derāyē, to the North and North-West of Kut el-Amara⁽¹⁰²⁾.

2. Mani too enjoyed the protection of Šāpūr I. On the occasion of his audience with the king, Manichaean missionaries received the permission to preach in the whole kingdom.⁽¹⁰³⁾

3. Mani, moreover, was included in the *comitatus* of Šāpūr, when the latter undertook one of his campaigns against Rome⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. We do not know which campaign is intended. Although we cannot identify it with certainty with that of 253, it may refer to the preceding struggle against Gordian III and Philip the Arab, or to the following against Valerian. Mani too was at that time an instrument of the Sasanian religious policy, and the result was the mission of the bishop (*ispasap*) Addā to Egypt⁽¹⁰⁵⁾, which is to be placed before the 20th year⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ of Šāpūr, i.e. before 258-9.

4. Lastly, Manichaeism too utilized art as a vehicle of religious evidence and mission. Mani is expressly called « the painter »⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. He is said to have illustrated one of his sacred books and to have adorned the walls of his shrines with paintings. Extant fragments from Turfan support the existence side by side of minia-

tures and frescoes⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. It is always the scroll with which we meet, along with the codex which in the meantime asserts itself⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. And, as in the case of the Dura synagogue, book miniatures turn out to be the model of the representations on the walls.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

Definite coincidences can be observed. We recognize in Babylonia, possibly in the neighbourhood of the capital, a spiritual centre, which made its influence felt chiefly in the early Sasanian period. This influence was exercised in both the religious and artistic direction and Šāpūr tried to turn it to account in the service of his anti-Roman policy.

APPENDIX I: *al-Aʿšā* No. 25.

The 25th poem of *al-Aʿšā* (pp. 126 f. Geyer) is important for the position of the Jews in Northern Ḥijāz. W. Caskel has made it the object of a critical study⁽¹¹¹⁾. According to him, the reference to the poet Imruʿulqais, accepted since the beginning, is to be given up. It concerns rather a Jewish arm trader, who brought his possessions in safety to Taimāʾ. These arms were the object of the dispute between as-Samauʾal and the Ḡassānid Ḥārīt b. Jabala.

Caskel's method is that of internal interpretation, against which all the data of genealogical, or generally historical character not contained in the poem itself have to yield. Without going into the question of the validity or not validity of this method and without taking up a position of our own, we shall accept Caskel's point of departure. We too shall limit ourselves to internal interpretation, whereby we intend to test the solidity of Caskel's new conceptions.

The poet asks protection from Šuraiḥ, a descendant of as-Samauʾal. In order to move the lord of Taimāʾ to an active intervention, *al-Aʿšā* narrates a feat of as-Samauʾal, who unflinchingly stuck to his protegee and sacrificed even the own son to his duty of loyalty. No man in the whole of Arabia and abroad (v. 2) defended his *jār*, remained at his side in such a way as Šuraiḥ's ancestor (v. 3). He valiantly upheld his *ḍimma* (v. 4). Hence the exhortation: « Be like as-Samauʾal », when the enemy advanced with an army against him (v. 5). « On *al-Abraq al-fard* of Taimāʾ is his seat: a strong fortress and a protector without deception » (v. 7).

We have left out v. 6, to which Caskel attri-

butes a decisive importance. « The protector (*jār*) of Ibn Ḥīyā is more loyal towards the man who has taken his *ḍimma*, defends him better from evil than the protector (*jār*) of Ibn ʿAmmār ». Caskel's translation is opposed to the earlier one, which was upheld by the Arabs: « The protegee of Ibn Ḥīyā is, thanks to him whose *ḍimma* has accepted him, more unhurt and more inassailable than the protegee of Ibn ʿAmmār ». The « neighbour » can be understood both as the protector and as the man in need of protection. The *afʿal* form is possible both for the active and the passive verb. Grammatically speaking, both translations are equally possible. In point of fact, there is this difference, that for Caskel Ibn Ḥīyā is the protegee of as-Samauʿal, while the older conception sees in Ḥīyā the father or grandfather of as-Samauʿal.

By *jār* v. 3 the protegee is meant, as surely as the same word v. 7 indicates the protector. If we want to recognize the protector also in the twofold *jār* v. 6, then this verse means nothing more than v. 7b: *jārun ḡairu ḡaddārīn*. The sequence would turn out to be, in the meaning if not in the choice of words, a tautology. On the other side, if we understand *jār* v. 6 both times as protegee, then *jāru bni ḥīyā aufā wa-amnaʿu*, in the meaning and in the choice of the words, would take up the preceeding v. 3 *fa-kāna aufāhumu ʿahdan wa-amnaʿahum jārān*. Nevertheless, no tautology is implied; while the *afʿal* form in v. 3 carries an active and superlative meaning, in v. 6 it has a passive and comparative meaning. If there Šuraiḥ's ancestor was the subject, here his protegee it is. We may add that there the thought was expressed in general terms, while here it is exemplified at the hand of a particular case. Moreover, the thought would have moved from the praised protector to the happy protegee, that is from Šuraiḥ, who is addressed in v. 1, to the role which Aʿšā attributes to himself. Since v. 10 *innī māniʿun jārī* in the mouth of as-Samauʿal takes up the turn of the phrase of v. 6, there can be no doubt that there too *jāru bni ḥīyā* must be understood as the protegee, not as the protector, and that Ibn Ḥīyā is nobody else but as-Samauʿal. ⁽¹¹²⁾

As-Samauʿal's fame, in that case, would be considered from two points of view; that of his own feats and that of the man, whom they concern. The same sort of reasoning occurs v. 7: *ḥiṣnun ḥaṣīnun* and *jārun ḡairu ḡaddārīn* include once more two aspects of the

same situation. It still remains unexplained, however, who Ibn ʿAmmār v. 6 is. Nothing can be gleaned from the poem itself. It would remain hidden in darkness, if we do not give credence to an external piece of information. According to Ibn Duraid (from *Iṣṭiqāq* 235), Ibn ʿAmmār came from Ṭaiyī ʿ and abandoned his protegee, the man from Ġassān ». This information is not discredited by the fact that Ibn Duraid wrongly identifies that Ibn ʿAmmār with the poet ʿAbd ʿAmr; it is independent from that equation. It would correspond to the double manner of consideration by al-Aʿšā, as sketched out above, that the duty of loyalty was observed in the conflict with a Ġassānid, but it was forgotten in front of a man belonging to that same house. If we accept the interpretation of Ibn Duraid, we gain another argument in favour of the « protegee ».

But we are in no need of this, because al-Aʿšā himself gives another hint, which cannot be misunderstood. The already quoted v. 10b says: «kill thy *hadī*, I will defend my protegee ». Once more a confrontation appears, and not only the final words, but the whole finds its correspondence in v. 6. As here the *jār* of Ibn Ḥīyā and that of Ibn ʿAmmār were confronted, so in v. 10b the *hadī* of Ḥārīt b. Jabala and the *jār* of as-Samauʿal; and once more an opposition appears. No doubt is permissible: as v. 6 takes up the preceding v. 3, so now v. 10b our v. 6. It stands confirmed that also in v. 6 *jār* can only mean protegee.

But Caskel points out that the name of as-Samauʿal's protegee must, without fail, be mentioned in the poem; and this could take place only with Ibn Ḥīyā v. 6. To this we may answer that the name could be omitted if a person known to all was concerned, if the whole story was in the mouth of everybody. And such is the case here. Caskel finds it surprising that v. 19 shows that as-Samauʿal is required to hand over not a person, but the armour. But still more surprising is that v. 17 *taǧīʿu biḥā* means already the armour, without its being expressly indicated as such. This allusion confirms that the poet was speaking of something widely and generally known. The idea of the armour was indissolubly connected with as-Samauʿal. It was already given to the poet, and a simple « it » was enough to be understood as an allusion. ⁽¹¹³⁾

The same behaviour is shown at the beginning of the poem. It was not only Šuraiḥ who

knew who was his ancestor (v. 3). The listener too recognized at once, who was meant by *aufāhumu ʿahdan wa-amnaʿahum jāran*. Nothing hinders us to assume the same thing for *jāru bni ḥiyā* v. 6. He too was bound to be a known and far-famed person. When v. 6 as-Samauʿal is *actually* mentioned (in contrast with his *jār*, whose name is not given), this causes a particular emphasis; as-Samauʿal is destined to appear in the following verses as actor and speaker. For the same reason the Gassānid is mentioned by name as *ḥārī* v. 8.

Caskel with his interpretation lands everywhere into difficulties. In order to cope with *bihā* v. 17, which is apparently without a correlation, he suggests an inversion of vv. 19-20. According to him, they should be placed immediately after v. 17 (¹⁴). To put it in other words: 18 should go after 20. This would cause a ὑστερον πρότερον, since as-Samauʿal would still hesitate after his decision has been already taken (17b; 19). All this is beyond the range of possibility. Caskel, who takes Ibn Ḥiyā for as-Samauʿal's protegee and for the owner of the suits of armour, must also explain why the latter are at al-Ablaq, but their owner is not. He says: « Ibn Ḥiyā, therefore, is already dead or has disappeared at the time when the event takes place ». But how could as-Samauʿal speak of a dead man when he says *innī mānīʿun jārī* v. 10? And what about v. 14: « And it will give him (the son) back to me, when you do him violence, a noble lord ». To whom else may this refer but to the owner of the armour? Thus the latter is still alive, and as-Samauʿal can expect from him the reward for his loyalty. He may expect it the more, inasmuch as this nobleman has entrusted the lord of the castle not only with the weapons, but also with his wives.

The antecedents of the battle of *du Qār* are well known. Nuʿmān III of Ḥīra had brought his armour and his two wives to the banū Šaibān, where Hānīʾ b. Masʿūd promised him safety (Ṭabarī, Ann. I, 1028, 7 f.; 1029, 16 f.). The repetition of the same circumstances in our poem points to the behaviour of a ruler, not of an arm trader. As a matter of fact, how could a trader be addressed as *rabbun karīmun* v. 14? The suits of armour, the women, the « noble lord », the hoped-for return, generally the heroic atmosphere of the whole and the resounding fame of all those who appear here, — to whom else could all this point but to Imruʿulqais?

Thus we have given back to al-Aʿšā's verses

their historical background. Of course we must recognize that Caskel too tries to create one. But in the same way as in his interpretation he limited himself to the elements contained in the poem, so he proceeds in its historical exploitation. Everywhere he turns to al-Aʿšā himself for lights.

In order to reconstruct the situation which is implied in the present instance, he quotes No. 24. Two verses, the meagre rest of an once extant poem, represent « the only chance to explain the situation from which our poem (No. 25) takes its start ». The result is as follows: « During a journey, the poet has been taken prisoner by Kalb raiders near the oasis Taimāʿ, which is inhabited by Jews. He succeeds, however, in attracting the attention of a foreigner, Šuraiḥ. Aʿšā discloses himself to him and ask him for his protection. But Šuraiḥ hesitates to help him. The reason for this is that Aʿšā has offended a chieftain of the Kalb by a poem (No. 24), and it appears that he has fallen in the hands of this very chief or of his clan, although he is still unrecognized. Now, Taimāʿ and the castle of Samauʿal lay in the raiding territory of the Kalb and of that particular clan. If it became known, who is the man whose freedom Šuraiḥ had bought, he himself would be in danger... Then the poet offers the highest price he can pay. By his verses he will make known throughout Arabia an incredible feat, which Samauʿal accomplished for a protegee of his. In doing this, he (al-Aʿšā) can take his start from his own present position ».

In this case too we shall not ask first if the picture drawn by Caskel is correct or not. We shall accept once more its starting point and its consequences. Šuraiḥ is said to have been exposed to danger on account of his defence of the prisoner. Caskel justifies this as follows: « Because the castle was not to be held without good relations with the neighbouring Bedouins ». This is a general statement, without its author's understanding clearly the particular conditions of the case. Theophanes 335, 23 de Boor narrates that before the battle on the Yarmūk some Arab tribes λαμβάνοντες παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ῥόγας μικράς πρὸς τὸ φυλάξαι τὰ στόμια τῆς ἐρήμου were refused the payments hitherto received. The « eunuch », i.e. the official of the imperial finance administration and at the same time commander of the troops (¹⁵), remarks upon this: ὁ δεσπότης μόγισ τοῖς στρατιώταις δίδωσι ῥόγας, πῶσιν μάλλον τοῖς κυσὶ τούτοις; The « dogs » of this ironic

question have been recognized, quoting Barhebraeus (Chron. Syr. 244 Bedjan), as the *banū Kalb*, who bear the dog in their name ⁽¹¹⁶⁾. They were, accordingly, East Roman allies; and with the same certainty we can ascribe the Jews of Taimā' and their king to the Persian party ⁽¹¹⁷⁾. The contrast, that finds here its expression, was already implicit in the antithesis between al-Ḥārīt, the Byzantine client king, and as-Samau'al. Thus al-A'šā could really start from an existing model; and on account of his relations with Ḥīra and the Laḥmids no doubt was possible as to which side he would turn with his plea for help. ⁽¹¹⁸⁾

But, as already pointed out, this interpretation is valid only if we accept Caskel's conception of the premises of poem No. 25. We cannot, however, overlook the fact that the poem itself gives not the slightest hint on all this. There is not a single word on a raiding party or prisons, of the *banū Kalb* or their chieftain. And what is more: we do not need it in order to understand the poem itself. It can be completely explained starting from the call for help hinted at in v. 1. Whether this plea is mere poetic fiction or is based upon an actual event, is unknown and is also immaterial. Caskel, who usually wishes to exclude the interpretations of his Arab predecessors, followed in this instance their enthusiasm for combinations. ⁽¹¹⁹⁾

In another case too we are unable to follow Caskel's interpretations. We have already seen how in his opinion Ibn Ḥīyā, a so-called protégé of as-Samau'al, was a Jewish arm trader or lender in Ḡassānid territory. In this connection he supposes a claim of al-Ḥārīt on the heritage of the dead or disappeared Ibn Ḥīyā. But the latter is stated to have brought his belongings to safety in the castle of Taimā', in order to save it for his relatives, who possibly lived abroad. To this we may object that his interpretation did not thus far elicit any valid proof for such inferences. Besides, a Jewish arm trader, with or without licence ⁽¹²⁰⁾, would represent a novelty in East Roman and even more in Ḡassānian territory. Once more Caskel has missed an information from Byzantine sources. The events related in Iohann. Ephes. 3, 42 and Euagrius 6, 2 show that the phylarchs were not allowed to manage personally the armament of their troops. It lay in the arsenals of the East Roman fortress of Bostra, was dealt out only in case of war and was to be handed back immediately after-

wards ⁽¹²¹⁾. This proceeding finds parallels elsewhere ⁽¹²²⁾ and shows that we cannot speak of a trade in arms (especially by Jews, i.e. pro-Persian elements).

As it can be seen, we must take recourse to peculiar and very unlikely combinations, if we want to exclude the allusion to Imru'ulqais. But there is no need to dwell further on this subject. One matter of principle, however, must be clearly established. This is not the only case in which we are invited to interpret the history of pre-Islamic Arabia without accepting the help of non-Arabic sources. Also the rise of the Liḥyānite kingdom is considered without taking into account the Ptolemaic policy in the Red Sea area and Syria; we are supposed, too, to deal with the influence of the Laḥmids in Ḥijāz without a knowledge of the East Roman and Sasanian events, and to write the history of Dū Nuwās possibly without Procopius and Cosmas Indicopleustes, the history of Muḥammad without the background of the wars of Khusrō II Parvēz and Heraclius. ⁽¹²³⁾

Before the Arabian peninsula obtained a leadership and a position of power of its own, i.e. before the last years of Muḥammad, it permanently lay in the field of tension between the great powers, whether they were Achaemenids and Alexander, or Seleucids and Ptolemies, or Rome and Arsacids and Sasanians. Above all the contrast between the Sasanian and Eastern Rome determined about everything that happened between Eastern Syria and 'Irāq, in Ḥijāz and Najrān, in Yemen and Ḥaḍramaut. Nöldeke and his pupils saw this and drew their conclusions therefrom. When the master himself turned to the History of the Persians and Arabs or of the Ḡassānids, when Rothstein dealt with the Laḥmid opponents, that field of political forces always remained for them the premise. Today the Southern Arabic inscriptions have become available, and we may gain from them additions and corrections. But even the history of Ḥimyar obtains its outlines, and its moving forces become comprehensible only there, where it is considered under the angle of the Sasanian-East Roman conflict.

An excellent knowledge of the Byzantine and Middle Persian sources enabled Nöldeke to draw upon them without limitations in order to supplement the Arab ones. Granted, that many Arabists no longer possess Nöldeke's all-encompassing knowledge; they are no longer capable to work out a picture from the

sources even where they concern Arabic conditions; they do not even dispose (this too is said to be sometimes the case) of the linguistic bases for this. Insufficient knowledge, whatever its reason, is, however, in no case a sufficient ground for deriving from it postulates of method, whether they result in an inner Arabic interpretation or in another limitation veiled by technical necessities. The duty implied in the model of Nöldeke and his followers is still valid in all its severity; and everyone who wishes to contribute to the general picture of old Arabic history is bound to submit to it.

APPENDIX II: *The home of Mazdak*

Mazdak, along with Mani the second great heretic of the Sasanian period, was lately also connected with Babylonia. O. Klíma, who dedicated to Mazdak a special work ⁽¹²⁴⁾, holds him possibly for a Semite and lets him come from the « territory on the left bank of the Tigris » ⁽¹²⁵⁾. This conception clashes with our own, of Mazdak's North-Eastern Iranian origin. ⁽¹²⁶⁾

In the fragment preserved by Šahrastānī, Mazdak opposes Ḥusraw in the nether world ⁽¹²⁷⁾ to the unnamed Lord of the Light in the upper world. Since Kusrō I Anōšarvān, the first bearer of the name, is out of the running because of chronological reasons ⁽¹²⁸⁾ we recalled the title *ḥusraw ḥwārizm* preserved in Ibn Ḥurdābeh (40, 2 de Goeje) and the mythical first king of Khwārezm, Kai Ḥusraw (Bīrūnī, Chronol. 35, 9 f. Sachau). If Mazdak chose a Khwārezmian royal title or name, so did we reason, this was because he came not from the Sasanian kingdom, but from the territory on the lower Oxus or a neighbouring land.

Bīrūnī's Nisā (wrongly vocalized Nasā by Sachau) means the Avestan *nisāim yim antarə*, *mōurumčā bāxδīmčā* ⁽¹²⁹⁾ Vend. 1, 7 or the ancient Νησαία in Hyrcania ⁽¹³⁰⁾. Klíma, however, supposes a wrong spelling for Fasā ⁽¹³¹⁾. The latter lay in Persia and appears as the birthplace of Mazdak's predecessor Zardušt ⁽¹³²⁾; according to his hypothesis, it could have been indicated in a lost tradition as the home of Mazdak himself. Leaving aside the questionable character of this supposition, there is a simple fact that cuts short all combinations. Bīrūnī, who makes Mazdak descended *min ahl nisā*, gives on pp.209, 11 and 211,

11 the form *mazdak* without variants. Only the Istanbul ms. Umumi 4667, which became known afterwards, seems to write *mazdak* ⁽¹³³⁾. We must, however, point out that Sachau's three manuscripts are later in date, but are furnished with diacritical marks throughout ⁽¹³⁴⁾, while in the Istanbul ms. the occurrence of these marks is so irregular, that the editor had to renounce to a diplomatic transcription ⁽¹³⁵⁾. Bīrūnī's *mazdak*, however, definitely betrays the origin of the mss. According to Bīrūnī himself, who was born in Khwārezm, the name of the day Hōrmuzd was *rymžd* (Chron. 47, 19) = *rēmažd* ⁽¹³⁶⁾. Mazdak's origin not only from North-Eastern Iran, but from Khwārezm or its immediate neighbourhood is thus placed beyond doubt.

This cancels all the theories centering around the other preserved forms of the name *mazdaq* and *mazdīq*. Besides, a Semitic denomination is quite out of the question in the case of a *mōbedān mōbeδ* (Bīrūnī, Chronol. 209, 11). But even if we accept those two spellings as original ones, the derivations suggested by Klíma are highly objectionable from the very point of view of Semitic linguistics.

Both *mazdaq* and *mazdīq* are explained by Klíma as participles of *šdq*. Indeed, in Syriac we meet with *z dq*; but neither of the two forms can be placed among the participial formations. The latter should be in Pa^cel *me-zaddeq* (act.) and *me-zaddaq* (pass.), in Af^cel *mazdeq* and *mazdaq*. Thus *mazdīq* is out of the question and *mazdaq*, like the Af^cel in general, is not attested. Even material reasons forbid to support a Christian-Syriac origin for Mazdak. The Babylonian-Hebrew has, it is true, a partic. Af^cel *mašdīq* ⁽¹³⁷⁾, but a spelling **mazdīq* is not attested here. The same goes for Arab. *mušaddīq* and *mušdīq*. Klíma considers the possibility of *mašdaq* and *mišdaq* ⁽¹³⁸⁾. But the *maf'al* formations are nouns of place and time, and thus come hardly into question for personal names ⁽¹³⁹⁾. *Mif'al* and, to close the list, *mif'il* are excluded on formal grounds. In no case can we arrive to *mazdaq* and *mazdīq*. Klíma's attempt ⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ to introduce and to interpret the form *mrzyq*, can be safely disregarded.

APPENDIX III: *The inscription of Kāl-i Jangāl*

The soil of Eastern Iran begins slowly to yield its concealed epigraphic monuments. The

Parthian inscription of Kāl-i Jangāl became known five years ago. It was found, together with an accompanying rock drawing, in the neighbourhood of Birjand in Southern Khorāsān. Particulars, as well as the earlier publications, are listed in W. B. Henning's paper *A new Parthian inscription*, in *JRAS* 1953, pp. 132 f. It was the latest study of the subject; it is also the only one which can claim scientific rank. The following remarks are concerned with this paper alone.

Henning reproduces the rock inscription and drawing in Pl. V. He speaks curtly of « a man and a lion » (p. 183) and attributes both, on stylistic grounds, to the 3rd century A.D. (p. 135). The decisive data are: « man in profile, except for his chest and eye; absurd misrepresentation of his right arm and hand ». But already here begin the mistakes, from which even this paper of Henning is not free.

Nothing can be seen of a chest. The man is seen from behind, with a shortening of the right half. What Henning may have considered as the upper part of the chest, are the shoulder-blades. The sharply drawn backbone supports this interpretation. As the animal attacks outwards from the picture, the fighter must show to the onlooker his back in a three-quarters view. Only feet and head are turned to profile, for the sake of clearness, Henning's right arm is in reality the left one, and there can be no question of an « absurd misinterpretation ». The draftsman has dealt with his subject with considerable skill, and nobody can reproach him of being tied to the canons of Sasanian art.

The man represented has to carry out a fight against a lion. We should not try to interpret this subject without keeping in mind the famous feat of Bahrām V Gōr. The Book of Kings speaks of two lions, or more exactly lionesses with cubs (*bi-asadaini... mušbilaini*; Tabarī, Ann. I, 861, 16 f. de Goeje), and a lioness is represented here too. When the second animal attacks Bahrām, we are told 862, 11 f.: *šadda l-asadu l-āḥaru ʿalaihi fa-qabaḍa ʿalā udunaihi wa-ʿarakahumā bi-kiltai yadaihi*. It is this seizing by the ears that is represented on the rock drawing. The left hand of the fighter has seized the right ear of the lioness and his right prepares to do the same.

Bahrām won his crown *li-tiqatihi kānat bi baṭš:hi wa-quwwatihi* (862, 1). The fight here represented was a similar feat. Here the man fights with one lioness only, but he fights with bare chest and does not even bear the club

which Bahrām had with him (*wa-ḥamala jurzan*). Certainly not an everyday happening; and therefore it was found worthy of being painted.

Henning's deduction, that Kāl-i Jangāl therefore « served as a hunting-camp for the local chieftains of Quhistān » (p. 135), can hardly be drawn from this single event. But another remark forces itself upon us. Taming a lioness by grasping her ears is a feat which would hardly be taken over by a king from one of his subjects. In the Sasanian realm the king set the pattern, and accordingly Bahrām's fight with the lion is narrated as something that never happened before. This means that Kāl-i Jangāl must be dated later than Bahrām's fight with the lionesses for the royal insignia. The inscription and the rock drawing are later than 420; how much later, cannot be established at present.

This liquidates Henning's attempt that placing the drawing and the inscription in the first years of the Sasanians (p. 135). How a lion fight was imagined in the early 3rd century, is shown by the relief AWe of Tang-i Sarvak, which belongs to the last years of Arsacid rule (¹⁴¹). The fighter there represented holds the lion, whom he throttles, far away from himself. The jumping animal has sunk down on his hinder legs.

Stylistic datation, considering the number of the available Sasanian monuments, can always represent a mere approximation. No element of comparison is extant in this case, neither for the subject nor for the technique. And since the stylistic attribution reposed on wrong interpretations, we can safely leave it aside. In their place, we can rely upon an historical element, which points to the second quarter of the 5th century at the earliest. Two chained lions, who prepare for the fight, thus once more in agreement with Tabarī's description of Bahrām's fight with the lion (861, 18), appear on a linen tissue from the Shōsōin in Nara. It belongs to the 8th century and may go back to a Sasanian model. (¹⁴²)

Palaeographic considerations, as additionally put forward by Henning, have no weight in front of this. Henning himself (p. 135, n. 1) remarks that the form of *h* deviates from that in use during the 3rd century. But also the aleph, *g* and *š* are formed differently from the great inscription of Šāpūr I. Differences are also shown when compared with the ostraka in Parthian alphabet (¹⁴³) and parchment 12 (¹⁴⁴), both from Dura-Europos. These dif-

ferences speak against a datation in the 3rd century.

We arrive now at our main subject. Henning's reading of the inscription is:

gry³rthštr
nḥwdr W ḥštrp.

Accordingly, we would have first of all a town or district name *Gari-Artaxšaḍr* or *Gar-Artaxšaḍr* «the mountains of Ardašīr». In the following line we would have two titles, both referring to the place mentioned before: «the prefect and satrap of *Gry³rthštr*». The personal name of the bearer of the title must have preceded, but this first line «may have broken away».

We may begin with *nḥwdr*. Henning lists the examples known to him (pp. 135 f.), but he overlooked that at the side of *nḥwdr* we find *nḥwb³r* (¹⁴⁵). Further instances have been collected by Nöldeke and Justi (¹⁴⁶). Both titles have the same meaning, as is the case also for *Nāmdār* and **Nāmbār* (*Nāmver*, *Nāmāver*, *Nāmāver*) (¹⁴⁷). These parallels are not favourable to Henning's interpretation.

Gry³rthštr ḥštrp may be granted, if the first word is really to be recognized as a place name. Henning cites examples for the precedence of the place name. But *gry³rthštr* remains without one. On the other side we have a Syriac *bēt nūhadrē*, and correspondingly *dēh naḥuvarāḡān* (**naḥuḅaraḡān*). This time too the locality precedes the title (or whatever was intended there). Only in this instance it is not the governing, but the governed part of the speech. Thus we have not «*nax^vdār* of the house», but the other way round: «house» and «village of the *n.*» or of a plurality of **naḥuḅaraḡān*.

It may be added that the «mountains of Ardašīr» as the name of a town or district remain without a parallel. Henning himself admits this (p. 134). Lastly, his interpretation must reckon with the loss of the first line, in favour of which nothing can be adduced except the insufficiency of his attempt at explanation.

There should be no doubt that the extant first line contains the looked-for personal name, and the second the titles. Thus, not «prefect and satrap of *Gry³rthštr*», but «*G.*, the *nax^vdār* and satrap». Of course no personal name can be extracted from Henning's reading. But since in the Parthian script *y* and *z* can hardly be distinguished from each other, it is tempting to read *grz³rthštr*. *Gurāz-*

Artaxšaḍr, «boar-Ardašīr», joins a long row of names formed in a similar manner. From F. Justi's *Namenbuch*, pp. 349 f., we quote: *Varaz-Bakūr*, *Barāz-ban̄deh*, *Varaz-Gnel*, *Varaz-Grigor*, *Varaz-Mihr*, *Varaz-Nerseh*, *Varaz-Perož*, *Barāz-Sūrēn*, etc. (¹⁴⁸)

This interpretation, however, presupposes that at the time when the inscription was made the pronunciation and the spelling was already *gurāz* instead of *varāz*. Here the late datation, which he suggested above in contrast with Henning, comes into play. W. Eilers, whom we asked for his opinion, wrote us (letter of July 30th, 1957): «Already Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, pp. 158-165 (§§ 51-56), tried in the course of a long discussion to reach a datation: *gunāh* < *vinās* is attested by Korean. *junāḥ* for about the 6th century, *Gurgān* for *Vṛkāna* by Syriac for about 430. The Iranian name of the martyr *Mār Sābā* (died 487) is in Syriac *Gušan(y)azdād*, in the diminutive *Gušnōē*; in which *gušn* comes from *v(a)ršn* (my *Neujahrsfest*, p. 68 n.). Horn in the *Gr. Ir. Phil.* I, 2, 64 f. thinks he can throw back the local name *Gulāšgird* in the 3rd century; why, is not clear to me».

Eilers goes on saying that our knowledge has been increased by recent finds. In Šāpūr's great inscription on the Ka'ba-i Zurdušt «the Greek transcriptions present already for the 3rd century the *gu-* initial; this happens nearly everywhere, and in two instances even the Pārsik version follows this lead». Indeed, the spelling *gurāz* is exemplified not less than three times in the Greek transcription.

Lastly, it has been overlooked that the name *Gurāz-Ardašīr* seems to occur in the form with the initial *gu-*.

Henning had considered for a moment the acceptance of a personal name, but then dropped it. In a note (p. 134 under 2) he mentions *Karardašīr*, «which could be *Gar-* instead». He quotes F. Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 156 left, but adds: «but uncertain reading». Henning had not felt himself compelled, as once before (¹⁴⁹), to check the passage of Ṭabarī cited in his authority.

Everyone who is concerned with the tradition of this Arab historian, must first consult M. J. de Goeje's «Introductio» in the last-but-one volume of his edition (¹⁵⁰). The manuscripts utilized by J. Barth for I, 1-812 are listed on pp. XLVII ff. The oldest is Constantinopol. Köprülü 1040 = C, written in Cairo in 651 A. H. Its evidence counterbalances the consensus of the remaining, far

later manuscripts. The latter give 1, 653, 1 and 3 the name of Daškāl's son, governor of *al-Hind* under Bahman, as *kr'rdšyr*, while C gives it as *kr'zdšyr* and *krz'dšyr*. Of these two, only *kr'zdšyr* comes into question; only the punctuation distinguishes it from the reading of the remaining manuscripts.

Justi thought of *Kārardašīr* «force- (power-) Ardašīr». We have *Būzkār*, *Kāmkār*, *Xudakar*; but *kār(a)*- as first member of a compound occurs nowhere. Moreover, in the case of *Kārardašīr* a connexion with initial **kāra*- «the doing» would be less obvious than one with Old Persian *kāra*- «army». An «army-Ardašīr» would correspond to an Arab. *sābūr al-junūd*, «Šāpūr, the man of the armies», as the poet ʿAmr b. ʿAla designates the Sasanian ruler ap. Ṭabarī, Ann. I, 829, 19 (cf. 824, 12). But this consideration is pointless, because the form here implied is not handed down, but only *kr'rdšyr*.

But an Arabic *k* can always render *g* ⁽¹⁵¹⁾. From the reading *kr'zdšyr* we could then take *gurāz*- as the first member of the compound, and from *kr'rdšyr* we could take *Ardašīr* as the second member. Both readings would have arisen only through a haplography of the letter *z-r*, and the original *kr'zrdšyr* would in this case give *Gurāz-Ardašīr* (*Kurāzardašīr*).

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NOTES

⁽¹⁾ C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue. The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report 8*, 1 (1956), pp. 88 f.

⁽²⁾ C. H. Kraeling, Op. cit., pp. 90, 279.

⁽³⁾ C. H. Kraeling, Op. cit., p. 279, No. 30-31.

⁽⁴⁾ Payne-Smith 2, 4195.

⁽⁵⁾ W. H. Russell, *A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts*, New Jersey 1953, p. 151 No. 772.

⁽⁶⁾ P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, p. 88.

⁽⁷⁾ Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*² pp. 25 f., § 38; W. H. Russell, Op. cit., p. 19, under 3. 11.

⁽⁸⁾ A. Baumstark in *Oriens Christianus*, 3rd Series, 10 (1935), pp. 244 f.; P. Kahle, Op. cit., p. 209.

⁽⁹⁾ I, 336, 8 Flügel.

⁽¹⁰⁾ F. Rosenthal, *Die aramaische Forschung*, p. 210.

⁽¹¹⁾ F. Rosenthal, Op. cit., p. 209.

⁽¹²⁾ Op. cit., p. 269 No. 3-11.

⁽¹³⁾ Op. cit., p. 270 on No. 3.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*², p. 24, § 35.

⁽¹⁵⁾ W. H. Russell, Op. cit., p. 19 under 3. 11.

⁽¹⁶⁾ I, 23, 8 Flügel. Cf. R. Stiehl in *WZKM* 53 (1956), pp. 11 f.

⁽¹⁷⁾ C. H. Kraeling, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report VIII*, Part. I, pp. 283-317.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, 1957, pp. 377-383; and *Supplementum Aramaicum*, 1957, pp. 116-122.

⁽¹⁹⁾ G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, 1897, p. 15.

⁽²⁰⁾ All the quotations here and in the following lines

are taken from the second volume (Glossar) of H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (1931).

⁽²¹⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Supplementum Aramaicum*, p. 92; cf. now W. Eilers, in *Archiv Orientalní* 22 (1954), p. 272. These pieces of evidence and others there quoted should not be missing in an enquiry that deals with the structure of the Roman slave wars. J. Vogt's essay published by the Mainz Academy in 1957, 1, is generally handicapped by the drawback that he does not cite the full evidence. The rebellious Italics (Diod. 37, 2, 10) and the populares sought their partisans among the slaves; so did Sulla. Marius's *Βαρδαιτοι* (Plutarch, Mar. 43, 4; 44, 9) bears an Aramaic name. It is also handed down as *Βαρδατοι*, *Βορδατοι* etc. and means **bārdaiyyā*. The word belongs with Syr. *bārdā*, Hebr. *bārod*, Arab. *arbad* and indicates a man wearing a spotted and miscaloured coat, made up of rags. This dress was a sign of social decay (Apul., Metam. 1, 6), but at the same time it was a political and religious manifest. Ephraim the Syrian wore it: *w^e-mānau ītaihōn wau men ruq^e e saggiyāt gaunē d-qēqaltā* «and his clothes were of rags, rich of the colours of the dunghill» (C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*⁶, 1951, p. 42* Z. 4 f.). The founder of the Syriac-Monophysite (Jacobite) church, James Baradaeus, bore the nickname *burd^e-ānā* «pannarius» (C. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syriac.*² p. 95 r.). The robe of rags can be followed from the Etruscan plays for the death and from the Atellana (F. Altheim, *Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, 1951, pp. 333 f.) as far as Buddhism in Eastern Asia. Marius himself marched before his followers ἐσθ^ητι φάβλη κεχρημένους (Plutarch, Mar. 41, 6). Enough of this; once more the importance of the Syrians within the Roman slave class is demonstrated. But Mithridates too employed in the military and political field liberated slaves. In the second case, Sulla took a leaf from his book with his Corneli; in the first, the slave army of the Parthians had set the pattern (cf. above 'syr' = *bandakān*). These connexions are overlooked by Vogt, and he goes astray also in his judgement of Iambulos. Common possession of women and land (Diod. 2, 58, 1), absence of classes and organization of work, chiefly of the liturgy (2, 59, 6-7) represent a program. It should by now be generally known that we find again these demands with Mazdak, with only few changes (Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat*, 1, 1954, pp. 131 f.; 193 f.; F. Altheim, *Utopie und Wirtschaft*, 1957, pp. 49 f.; 80 f.). As Iambulos places the sun god over the new order, so does Mazdak for his Lord of the Light. It may be noted that Ζεύς Ἡλιοπολίτης, as well known, is not Helios, but the city god of Heliopolis; Alexarchos's Uranopolis too leads us no farther. Iambulos's date can be found in F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens*, 2 (1948), pp. 155 f. and *Römische Religionsgeschichte* 2 (1953), pp. 40 f. Opponents should have at least a working knowledge of Aramaic and of Arabic, an advantage which today is seldom met with among classical historians. Thus any attempt at a discussion is lacking with A. Andreotti, in *Historia*, 5 (1956), pp. 296 f., and D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2, 1950, p. 1041 n. 18, whom Vogt, Op. cit., p. 35, appears to follow. A state of innocence, equally appreciated by the pious and the sinner although on different grounds, is of little use in the approach to a scientific problem.

⁽²²⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Supplementum Aramaicum*, 1957, pp. 54 f.

⁽²³⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, Op. cit., pp. 64 f.

⁽²⁴⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, Op. cit., pp. 98 f.

⁽²⁵⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, Op. cit., p. 94; cf. W. B. Henning, in: *Asia Maior* N. S. 1952, 2, pl. XI.

⁽²⁶⁾ F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (1895), pp. 320 r.; Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904), p. 627.

⁽²⁷⁾ Reproduced in Altheim-Stiehl, *Asien und Rom*, 1952, p. 74, fig. 4.

⁽²⁸⁾ J. de Menasce, in *Journ. asiat.* 240 (1952), p. 516.

⁽²⁹⁾ Cf. in the last instance W. H. Russell, *A Handbook of Aramaic Texts*, p. 19 under 3. 11.

⁽³⁰⁾ Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*², p. 142.

⁽³¹⁾ Reproduced in Altheim-Stiehl, *Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen*, 1953, pl. 17 and 6.

⁽³²⁾ *Inscriptions from Dura-Europos*, in *Yale Class. Studies* 14 (1955), pp. 143 f.

⁽³³⁾ Th. Nöldeke, Op. cit., p. 124, § 179 C.

⁽³⁴⁾ Th. Nöldeke, Op. cit., p. 24, § 35 beginning.

⁽³⁵⁾ C. Brockelmann, *Lex. Syriac.*² p. 7.

⁽³⁶⁾ On the wrong interpretations of W. B. Henning, in *BSOAS* 14 (1952), pp. 520 f. see our remarks in *Südostfor-*

schungen 15 (1956), pp. 80 f.; *Acme*, 8 (1955), pp. 23 f. Henning had equated *hd'n ZY* [n] *dktl* [n] of the Paikuli inscription (Sas. 18) with a local name which is known from Syriac texts: *Niqāṭōr-Auwānā*. He read its second portion as *āwānā* and equated it with *hāyān*, *hādān*. Both went back to Old Persian *āwahanā*. He explains the whole name as «post stage of Nicator».

Against this it was pointed out that we have to read *auwānā*, and that this is not an Iranian word, but a Syriac one, which exists in several texts, both for itself and its word-family. Furthermore, that *Niqāṭōr-Auwānā* can only mean «Nicator, the post stage», or more exactly: (*bēt*-) *niqāṭōr auwānā* «Bēt-Niqāṭōr, the post stage».

To this «farewell to *Niqāṭōr Auwānā*» we may add now a positive element. The first consequence to be drawn from what we have said above is that *Niqāṭōr Auwānā* was not, as maintained by Henning, the centre of a district of *Bēt Niqāṭōr*, but the district itself. The name has been preserved, as recognized by Henning, in modern Binkudra, at the mouth of the Hūlvān river in the Diyāla. Besides, Nicator has changed from the name of a postmaster to what it was before: a surname of Seleucus I. Here we can quote the account of Diodorus, 19, 92, from Hieronymus of Cardia.

After the reconquest of Babylon in 312 Seleucus had to defend his new dominion against Nicanor, the satrap of Media. He marched from Babylon over the Tigris to meet his opponent (διαβάζειν τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν 2). Since Nicanor, advancing from the Median mountains against Babylon, was descending the valley of the Hūlvān river, we find ourselves in the region indicated above. Seleucus awaited the enemy in the swamps of the Tigris. When the latter was encamped πρὸς τινὶ βασιλικῷ σταθμῷ (3), he was surprised and annihilated by Seleucus. We have here in σταθμός the *auwānā* and in the conqueror the origin of the denomination. It was the theatre of a success which gave to Seleucus Susiana and Media (5).

(³⁷) Altheim-Stiehl, *Supplementum Aramaicum* (1957), pp. 65; 72; 83; 97; 100.

(³⁸) On its meaning see A. Dupont-Sommer in *Semitica* 1 (1948), p. 53.

(³⁹) E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* Gl. 452-4.

(⁴⁰) H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, vol. II, 1931, p. 249.

(⁴¹) This is the corrected reading; misread in J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches*, 1956, p. 37 and table 21, 12.

(⁴²) Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* p. 382.

(⁴³) On the reading and explanation see Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, p. 380; *Supplementum Aramaicum*, pp. 119 f.; J. de Menasce in: *Journ. asiat.* 1956, 428; pl. II Chapour 1, l. 3 gives the same ligature as in *nḥwšt*.

(⁴⁴) C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², p. 27a.

(⁴⁵) Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*², p. 181, § 243.

(⁴⁶) G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 1894, p. 186.

(⁴⁷) Bauer-Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 1927, p. 258 l.

(⁴⁸) Th. Nöldeke, *Op. cit.*, p. 183, § 247.

(⁴⁹) C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², p. 325a.

(⁵⁰) Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*², p. 98, § 155.

(⁵¹) J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen* 2 (1932), pp. 63 f.

(⁵²) J. Cantineau, *Op. cit.*, 2, p. 89.

(⁵³) J. Cantineau, *Op. cit.*, 2, pp. 164 f.

(⁵⁴) W. H. Russell, *Op. cit.*, p. 151, No. 772.

(⁵⁵) *Yale Classical Studies*, 14, 1955, p. 132, *ṛšw* *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

(⁵⁶) On South Arabic *whblt* cf. in the last instance G. Ryckmans in *Le Muséon* 70 (1957), p. 105, and the literature there quoted.

(⁵⁷) Bauer-Leander, *Op. cit.*, p. 317, § 93a.

(⁵⁸) Th. Nöldeke, *Op. cit.*², p. 161, § 212.

(⁵⁹) C. Brockelmann, *Op. cit.*, p. 68a.

(⁶⁰) Th. Nöldeke, *Op. cit.*², p. 24, § 35.

(⁶¹) W. H. Russell, *Op. cit.*, p. 20 under 3. 15.

(⁶²) In *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 1955, pp. 350 ff.; Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 382 f.; *Supplementum Aramaicum*, p. 121.

(⁶³) P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, pp. 184 f.; cf. Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft*, 2 (1950), pp. 228 f.

(⁶⁴) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 385.

(⁶⁵) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, pp. 351 f.

(⁶⁶) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 354 left.

(⁶⁷) The Targum Onkelos cannot be earlier than the 5th century; P. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, p. 119. *Ibid.*, pp. 125 f., on the Fragmentary Targum and on Pseudo-Iōnān.

(⁶⁸) P. Winter, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 48 (1957), p. 192.

(⁶⁹) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, pp. 331 f.; 390 f.

(⁷⁰) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

(⁷¹) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 391.

(⁷²) W. B. Henning, in *Asia Major* N. S. 2 (1952), pp. 151 f. The reading of the inscriptions was rectified by us in: *Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen* (1953), pp. 61 f.; *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 5 (1955-6), pp. 345 f.; *Supplementum Aramaicum*, pp. 90 f.

(⁷³) W. B. Henning, *Op. cit.*, pl. II-III, cf. C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, pl. LXIII; Henning pl. IX right and XVI with Kraeling pl. LXV; LXVIII; Henning pl. XIII right and XX with Kraeling pl. LV; also the scene of sacrifice in Henning pl. IX, X and XII with Kraeling pl. LXII left. On the forms of the throne: Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 329 f.

(⁷⁴) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, pp. 341; 400.

(⁷⁵) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

(⁷⁶) This information is conveniently accessible in A. Salhani's extracts from the *Kitāb al-aḡānī*, 2 (1888), 7, 4 f.

(⁷⁷) Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 149 f.

(⁷⁸) Ibn Hurdābeḥ, 128, 9 f. de Goeje; Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 149 f.

(⁷⁹) Tabarī, ann. I, 958, 13 f.; Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 143 f.

(⁸⁰) Hišām ap. Tabarī, ann. I, 833, 21 f.; Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 142 f.

(⁸¹) J. Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, 2, 49 f.

(⁸²) G. Ryckmans, in *Le Muséon*, 69, pp. 152 f.; J. Pirrenne, *ibid.*, pp. 167, 170; Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, 143.

(⁸³) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, pp. 336 f.

(⁸⁴) A. R. Bellinger, in *Berytus* 8 (1943), pp. 64 f.; M. Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, pp. 53, 57.

(⁸⁵) M. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran. Sapor and Kartir* (1953), p. 88.

(⁸⁶) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 377, n. 74.

(⁸⁷) W. Ensslin in *SBBayerAk.*, 1947, 5, 6 f.

(⁸⁸) As Ensslin, *Op. cit.*, p. 7, states. In other points too Ensslin's paper needs critical examination and correction.

(⁸⁹) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 337.

(⁹⁰) W. B. Henning, in *Asia Major* N. S. 3 (1952), 201; 6 (1957), pp. 116 f.; cf. the Editorial Note to C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 337, n. 73.

(⁹¹) Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* (1879), pp. 405 f.

(⁹²) W. B. Henning, in *Asia Major* N. S. 6 (1957), 119, n. 2, has overlooked in his calculation the fact that the New Year's day shifted by five days between 239 and 253. His dates of the day are therefore incorrect.

(⁹³) Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* 2, 161 Barb.

(⁹⁴) H. Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom* (1938) pp. 62 f., n. 77 f.

(⁹⁵) Altheim-Stiehl, *Asien und Rom* (1952), pp. 35 f.; *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 149 f.; R. Stiehl, in *WZKM* 53 (1956), pp. 4 f.; 18 f.

(⁹⁶) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, pp. 392 f.

(⁹⁷) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

(⁹⁸) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 398.

(⁹⁹) C. H. Kraeling, *Op. cit.*, p. 397 r.

(¹⁰⁰) From the *Šabuhragān*: Birūnī, *Chron.* 208, 7 f. Sachau.

(¹⁰¹) Schol. 311, 15 Scher.

(¹⁰²) W. B. Henning, in *BSOAS* 10 (1942), pp. 944 g.; in the last instance H.-Ch. Puech, *Le Manichéisme* (1949), p. 34.

(¹⁰³) *Fihrist* 1, 328, 29 f. Flügel; *Kephāl.* 15, 31 f.; *Hom.* 48, 2 f.; *Psalt.* 43, 5 f.

(¹⁰⁴) Alex. Lycop. 4, 19 f. Brinkmann; *Kephāl.* 15, 33 f.

(¹⁰⁵) Andreas-Henning, in *SBAW* 1933, pp. 301 f.; H. H. Schaefer, in *Nachr. Gött. Akad.* 3. F., 10 (1934), pp. 68 f.

(¹⁰⁶) H. H. Schaefer, *Op. cit.*, p. 71 (the date wrongly calculated).

(¹⁰⁷) On the following see A. v. Le Coq, *Die manichäischen Miniaturen* (1922), pp. 13 f.

(¹⁰⁸) A. v. Le Coq, *Op. cit.*, pl. 3-8 and 1-2.

(¹⁰⁹) A. v. Le Coq, *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

(¹¹⁰) A. v. Le Coq, *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁽¹¹¹⁾ W. Caskel, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, 1 (1956), pp. 132 f.

⁽¹¹²⁾ This remark is valid independently from the way in which we may judge the remaining genealogical data; cf. W. Caskel, *Op. cit.*, p. 135, n. 3; p. 137 n. 1.

⁽¹¹³⁾ In evident contrast with W. Caskel, *Op. cit.*, p. 132, according to whom al-A'šā wants to make everything known for the first time.

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ W. Caskel, *Op. cit.*, p. 134, n. 3.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ H.-W. Haussig ap. Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, p. 92, n. 41; 97.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ H.-W. Haussig, *Op. cit.*, p. 97, n. 57.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ W. Caskel, *Entdeckungen in Arabien* (1954), p. 26; cf. 25; Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike*, pp. 156 f.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, p. 149 f.

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ W. Caskel, *Op. cit.*, p. 132, n. 1.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ W. Caskel, *Op. cit.*, p. 138, n. 3.

⁽¹²¹⁾ Th. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassānischen Fürsten*, in *Abh. BayerAkWiss.* 1887, 2, p. 29, n. 3.

⁽¹²²⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 118 f.

⁽¹²³⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 158 f.

⁽¹²⁴⁾ O. Klíma, *Mazdak*, Prague 1957.

⁽¹²⁵⁾ O. Klíma, *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, in *La Nouvelle Clio* 5 (1953), pp. 368 f.; *Ein asiatischer Staat* 1 (1954), pp. 199 f.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ And not « the highest beneficent being », as Klíma maintains, *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ Klíma's suggestions (*Op. cit.*, pp. 162 f.) cannot be utilized.

⁽¹²⁹⁾ Cf. F. Altheim, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 3, pp. 41 f.; *Weltgeschichte Asiens* 1 (1947), pp. 88 f.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Strabon, p. 509.

⁽¹³¹⁾ O. Klíma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 161, 162.

⁽¹³²⁾ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* pp. 456 f.

⁽¹³³⁾ J. Fück, in *Documenta islamica inedita* (1952), pp. 79 f.

⁽¹³⁴⁾ E. Sachau, in the Prolegomena to his edition, pp. LIV f.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ J. Fück, *Op. cit.*, pp. 69 f.

⁽¹³⁶⁾ H. H. Schaeder, in *Abh. Gött. Akad. Wiss.* 3 F., 10, p. 32, n. 3.

⁽¹³⁷⁾ O. Klíma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 178 f., n. 31.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ O. Klíma, *Op. cit.*, p. 179, n. 31.

⁽¹³⁹⁾ O. Klíma has wrongly « Wahrmond ».

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ O. Klíma, *Op. cit.*, pp. 167 f.

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ *Asia Major* N. S. 2, 1952, pl. XIV.

⁽¹⁴²⁾ M. Ishida and G. Wada, *The Shōsōin* (1954), pl. 152.

⁽¹⁴³⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen*, pl. 1, 2, 4.

⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Asien und Rom*, 1952, p. 73 fig. 2.

⁽¹⁴⁵⁾ H. F. Junker, *Das Frahang i Pahlavik*, 1955, p. 1.

⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, pp. 152, n. 2, 439 n.; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 219 f.

⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ F. Justi, *Op. cit.*, p. 220. Cf. *əxšāvanḍār* and *əxšāvanvār*: G. Widengren in: *Orientalia Suecana* 1 (1952), 75, n. 1.

⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ A defective spelling of *ā* in *Gurāz* is not surprising, taking into consideration *nḥwdr* = *nax'dār*. We may recall the Alanian *Warasi* or *Waras-ci*; R. Bleichsteiner, ap. L. Schmidt in *Schweizer Volkskunde* 3 (1951), p. 37.

⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Altheim-Stiehl, *Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen* p. 68, n. 268; *Supplementum Aramaicum* p. 97, n. 23.

⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Cf. J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, 1955, pp. 212 f.

⁽¹⁵¹⁾ Th. Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, in *SB. Wien* 126 (1892), pp. 9, 10, 21.

